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# HINDU POLITY

A CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF INDIA  
IN HINDU TIMES

[Two VOLUMES IN ONE]

420/481

BY

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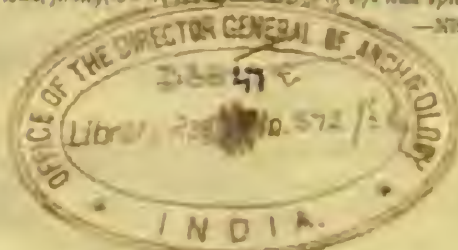
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Jay

যব বনোঁচকাল বাল্যাব সমঃ ।

*'And, finally, to STATE, the crown of life and spirit.'*

—Nītirāyānirita.



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*To the Memory of the Republican*

VRISHNIS, KATHAS, VAIS'ALAS, AND S'ÂKYAS

*who announced*

PHILOSOPHIES OF FREEDOM

*from*

DEVAS, DEATH, CRUELTY, AND CASTE.



मल्लेत्त्ववी दण्डनीतीं हतायां सर्वे धर्माः प्रचयेतुर्विहङ्गाः ।  
 सर्वे धर्माबाधमाणां हताः स्वः चात्र त्वक्ते राजधर्मे पुराणे ॥  
 सर्वे त्यागा राजधर्मेषु दृष्टा सर्वाः दीक्षा राजधर्मेषु युक्ताः ।  
 सर्वा विद्या राजधर्मेषु चोक्ताः सर्वे लोका राजधर्मे पविष्टाः ॥

म० भा० शा० ६३।२८।२९ ।

"When Politics becomes lifeless, the triple Veda sinks, all the *dharma*s [i.e., the bases of civilization] (howsoever) developed, completely decay. When traditional State-Ethics are departed from, all the bases of the divisions of individual life are shattered.

"In Politics are realised all the forms of renunciation, in Politics are united all the sacraments, in Politics are combined all knowledges: in Politics are centred all the Worlds."

—*Mohā-Bhārata, Śānti*—63-28-29.

## PREFACE

'HINDU POLITY,' in two volumes (Parts)—the first on Vedic Assemblies and Republics, the second on Monarchy and Imperial Systems—is a sketch of the constitutional life of the Hindus. The subject is great but its treatment has to be modest. The works of *pūrva-sūtris* had long been hidden; the path opened by them had long been lost. It had to be re-searched. In 1911-13 a probable line was laid to dig and discover the Ancients' highway in the field of Polity. In these pages that line has been deepened and widened. And the way of the Fathers is in sight.

The author made a special study to find out what constitutional progress, if any, Ancient Indians had achieved. In 1911 and 1912 some results of the study were published in the legal journal the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* and the Calcutta monthly the *Modern Review*. A connected paper was read to the Hindi Literary Conference in 1912 and its translation published in the *Modern Review*, 1913, under the title '*An Introduction to Hindu Polity*'.

Before the publication of the *Introduction* there had been no work in any modern language on the subject. The *Introduction* fulfilled its purpose. To-day the subject finds place in University teaching. And the author has had the satisfaction of seeing his results quoted and reiterated, with or without acknowledgement, almost every year; the subject has become popular; the truth has been recognized, accepted and adopted: it has rightly ceased to be his.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Mr. B. K. Sarkar, however, thinks otherwise—'But all the references in Jaysawal's studies, have been appropriated by subsequent writers' (*Political Institutions*, etc., Leipzig, 1932, p. XVI). Can they not retort, 'ayam ujjah paro veti gopam lughu chetund—'?

Vincent Smith suggested to the author to treat the subject of Hindu republics in detail, and several friends insisted on having the *Introduction* in book-form. About the same time, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, President of the Council of Post-Graduate-teaching, Calcutta University, asked him to prepare a curriculum of ancient Indian History. Need at that time was badly felt for a somewhat comprehensive book on ancient Hindu polity. The author towards the close of 1917, undertook to revise the *Introduction* with a view both to carry out the suggestion of Dr. Smith and to supply the want. The present work was the out-come. In April, 1918, the revision was complete and the manuscript ready. The book was made over to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who kindly took upon himself the publication of the work, placing it on the University syllabus.

When a few chapters had been in type the author was informed that scientific plagiarism was at work. Then, the manuscript was stolen from Sir Asutosh, no other belonging out of the group from which the box of manuscript was missing was touched by the critical though secret admirer. Sir Asutosh informed the police, with the result that a professor who claimed to have recovered the manuscript made it over to Sir Asutosh. After three days' confinement the book obtained liberation. Having no other copy of the book, the Calcutta University Press being too slow, and the desire to publish "original researches" in certain quarters in Calcutta being great, the author brought back the manuscript to Patna. Engagement was then concluded to print the book at Allahabad. In the meantime the book was cited by Sir Saikaran Nair from the manuscript in his Note to the Government of India's *First Despatch on Constitutional Reforms* (dated 5th, March, 1919), and chapters were printed in the *Modern Review* (Feb., 1920.) When the

whole of Part I was in type the English section of the Press at Allahabad was sold away and the book once more came back home. Until this autumn, owing to the difficulties of getting a suitable press from a 'mofussil' town, and owing to professional duties, no fresh arrangement could be made for the publication of the work.

The lines laid down in the *Introduction* (1913) have been closely followed in the present work. Except the chapter on *Paura-Jānapada* there has been no addition to those broad lines. The whole work otherwise is only a commentary on the *Introduction*.

The book is presented in the form and substance just as it was completed in April, 1918, but for the amalgamation of the matter published by the author in the *Modern Review* in April, 1920, on *Paura Jānapada*, and the addition of one passage (§ 27) on a datum from the *Abhidhāna-Rājendra* (1919), of the last line of the footnote at p. 33, and of Appendices C and D. The date of the *Kautilya Artha Śāstra* (Artha-Śāstra) has been retained as originally given, although Dr. Jolly has recently revived the controversy through his edition of the *Artha-Śāstra*. On account of the importance of the subject the present writer has re-considered it here.<sup>1</sup> He is unable to agree with Dr. Jolly's conclusions.

The author's thanks are due to his kind friends Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri and Dr. Suniti K. Chatterji for reading the proofs and valuable suggestions, to Mr. H. Chakladar and Mr. Bata K. Ghosh for verifying references, and Dr. Kālidāsa Nāg and Prof. Arun Son for doing the index. His friend the late Mr. H. Panday had helped him in the preparation of the MS.

K. P. J.

Patna, Novr., 1924.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix E: 'Additional Notes on Part I'



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## ABBREVIATIONS

## Errata

# HINDU POLITY

## Part I

VEDIC ASSEMBLIES

AND

HINDU REPUBLICS



I  
INTRODUCTORY



## CHAPTER I

### Scope and Sources

§ 1. It is proposed to outline here certain chief features of Hindu Polity. The Hindu race has experimented in great and various systems of state and political machinery. We are not yet in a position to reconstruct a complete history of the constitutional development of the race. Nevertheless some outstanding facts and the principles underlying them may be noticed with profit.

The topics to be discussed here<sup>1</sup> are :

- (1) the Sovereign Assembly of the Vedic times,
- (2) the Judicial Assembly of the Vedic times,
- (3) Hindu Republics (1000 B. C. to 600 A.C.),
- (4) Hindu Kingship (from the Vedic times to 600 A.C.),
- (5) the Jānapada or Realm Diet, and the Paura Assembly of the Capital (600 B. C.—600 A. C.),
- (6) the Council of Ministers under Hindu Monarchy (1000 B. C.—600 A. C.),
- (7) Judiciary under Hindu Monarchy (700 B.C.—600 A.C.),
- (8) Taxation (1000 B. C.—600 A.C.),
- (9) The Hindu Imperial Systems (1000 B.C.—600 A.C.), and
- (10) Decay and Revival of Hindu constitutional traditions ( 650 A. C.—1650 A. C )

§ 2. The sources of our information extend over the vast field of Hindu literature—Vedic, Classical and Prākṛita, and also the inscriptional and numismatic records of the country. We are fortunate in having

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<sup>1</sup> In some cases, very briefly.

also a few technical treatises on Hindu Politics left to us in the original. They are, however, mere remains of a considerable library, contributed to by a long series of political thinkers and statesmen of Hindu India. The *Artha-Śāstra* of Kaṭilya<sup>1</sup> (300 B.C.), which may be called the Imperial Code of Governance of the Early Mauryas, is such a remnant. It is avowedly based on previous authorities. Such authorities, cited by name in Kaṭilya's Code, number eighteen or nineteen. There are some others mentioned elsewhere. For instance, the *Mahā-Bhārata*, which gives a brief history of Hindu Political Science,<sup>2</sup> mentions, in addition Gaṇa-Śīras. The *Āśvalāyana Grihya-Sūtra* mentions one more, Āditya<sup>3</sup>. The catalogue of this large number of writers shows that politics had been studied for centuries before Kaṭilya's time, and had become a recognised subject when the *Kalpa-Sūtras* were still being completed.<sup>4</sup>

If we allow an interval of even twenty years for each of these known authorities, we shall have to date the literature of Hindu Politics as far back as circa 650 B. C. This date is corroborated by the

<sup>1</sup> Mysore State's Bibliotheca Sankrita, No. 37, edited by Mr. Shama Sastry, 1903. Translation by Mr. Shama Sastry, 1915, Mysore, is not quite satisfactory. The text in places is not beyond doubt; compare the quotations in the commentary on the Kāṇḍakya-Mīmāṃsā published by the Travancore Government which at times differ greatly from the published text. See also Dr. Senapati Tarapurcata's Notes on the *Arthasastra* (1911).

The name of the author should be 'the Kaṭilya,' it being his *gotra* name (J. B. O. R. K. II 40, also Sankarācārya on Kāṇḍakya, I 6), but to avoid heaviness, the *has* been omitted here throughout.

<sup>2</sup> Śānti Parvan, LVIII-LIX. It is possible that Gaṇa-Śīras is later than Kaṭilya. The point in favour of the antiquity of Gaṇa-Śīras is that he is placed in a group of ancient writers. The Śānti Parvan, in its present shape, is later than the Kāṇḍakya whose author it seems to know. See Ch. cxviii. See also § 3 below, p. 5, n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Āśvalāyana Grihya Sūtra, III 12 16.

<sup>4</sup> The Artha-Śāstra literature had existed before the earliest Dharma-Śāstras were compiled. See Apastamba Dh. S., II, 6, 10, 14. 'यथा प्रदीक्षितं यदादिदृश्यते' Haradatta 'यदादिदृश्यते' इति च दृश्यते प्रदीक्षितं.....

*Jātaka*s, which are regarded as pre-Buddhan (i.e., anterior to 600 B. C.): they recognise *Artha*, that is, *Artha-Śāstra*, as a chief science for the guidance of successful ministers.<sup>1</sup>

§ 3 The treatises on political theories and practical  
 Terms governance were originally called *Daṇḍa-Nīti* or the 'Principles of Government'<sup>2</sup> and *Artha-Śāstra* or the 'Code of Common-wealth. Kaṁḍilya defines the latter: "Artha is "human population, that is to say, territory with human population. The Code of Artha (Common-wealth) is a code "dealing with the means (art, *upāya*) of acquisition and "growth of that territory."<sup>3</sup> *Daṇḍa-Nīti* was the title adopted by Uśānasa,<sup>4</sup> and *Artha-Śāstra*, by Brihaspati,<sup>5</sup> for their respective works which were very famous in Hindu Classical times. A book, rather an encyclopædia, under the title *Daṇḍa-Nīti*, ascribed to Prajāpati, is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>6</sup> The subject is also called *Rāja-Śāstra*<sup>7</sup> or the 'Code for the Rulers,' and *Rāja-Dharma* or

The Book on Pol- the 'Law for the Rulers.' Under the  
 ities in the Moha- latter term, it has been treated in the  
 bhārata: 400 B.C. Śānti-Parvan of the *Mahābhārata*.  
 600 A.C. The *Mahābhārata* draws on materials generally old, but

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Foucher, J. H. 30, 74.

<sup>2</sup> Śānti Parvan, lvi. 77-78 (Kumbakonam) (60-81).

<sup>3</sup> मनुसंहिता श्रितिके, मनुस्मृतौ सुनिरुद्धे, तस्याः श्रित्या लक्षणमधीयते, इति मनुस्मृतिसंहिता।  
 We. av, p. 424 (for here is explained by the following मनुस्मृतौ). It has therefore  
 to be taken as श्रितिकेयम् (श्रुति, श्रुत्य). *Pañca* has the sense of growth and more  
 maintenance. This is borne out by the description of *Daṇḍa-nīti* given by  
 Kaṁḍilya (l. 4 p. 3) : दण्डनीतिः अन्नजननान्नं, वस्त्रजननान्नं, श्रितिकेयम्, etc.; and also by  
 "अन्नजननान्नं वस्त्रजननान्नं श्रितिकेयम्" (Nāṭyaśāstra, II.

<sup>4</sup> *Mañdhātaka*, I.

<sup>5</sup> Vātsyāyana, *Rāma-Śāstra*, I.

<sup>6</sup> B.G. P., C. 59 (Bengal) (58, Kumb.) Cf. *Rāma* § 1.

<sup>7</sup> Śānti P., C. 58 (Bengal) (57, Kumb.)

handled as late as the fifth century after Christ, with an earlier systematization, *cir.* 150 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Later, the terms *Niti* ('Policy' or 'Principles') and *Naya* ('Leading,' 'Principles') seem to have superseded the old words *Artha* and *Dapḍa*. Kāmandaka calls his metrical treatise a *Niti-sāra*. The book ascribed to Śukra, which, in its present shape is a revised edition of an earlier well-known work, probably based on the ancient Uśanas' *Dapḍa-Nīti*, is also called a *Niti-sāra* (*Śukra-Niti-sāra*).<sup>2</sup> The *Pañcātantra*, which is a book on politics put into fables for the early education of princes and would-be statesmen, adopts the term *Naya-Śāstra* to denote the literature.<sup>3</sup>

It is interesting to note that the study of Hindu Politics was continued, like the study of Hindu Law, during Muhammadan times. I was agreeably surprised to find that the famous lawyers, the *Nibandhakāras* Chanḍeśvara, Mitra-Misra and Nilakanṭha, have compiled works on Hindu Politics. There is a *Rāja-niti-Ratnākara*, and there is a *Vira-Mitrodaya Rāja-Nīti*; similarly, there is also a *Mayūkha*, called *Rāja-Nīti-Mayūkha*.<sup>4</sup> As to the value of

<sup>1</sup> For the date of the *Sānti-Parvan* see my *Tugars Lectures*, I. The authors who are treated as historical persons in Kaṭilya's *Artha-Śāstra* have been taken to be divine and mythological in the *Sānti P.* The *Sakas* and the *Tokharis* are mentioned as having come under Hindu kings (Ch. lxx)—a fact of the early fifth century A.C. It should be also noticed that the political science book of the '*Great Rishi*' which had been current in the time of Kāmandaka (viii, 29) disappeared when the *Sānti Parvan* was completed (c. 343, 52, Kuruk.)

<sup>2</sup> This work is quoted by law-commentators of the Middle Ages and later. I could not find the quotations in the text of the current *ŚNS*. It must have been, therefore, revised about the 15th century. It, however, embodies mostly ancient doctrines.

<sup>3</sup> 'नय-शास्त्र-सङ्ग्रहः'; *Pañcā-Tantra*, Ch. I.

<sup>4</sup> An old copy of this is in the library of the well-known Sanskritist, Mr. Govinda Das of Benares. The *Vira-mitrodaya-Rājanīti* has been published in the *Chaukhamba*

these latter-day works, they, of course, are products of the decadent period. They may be classed together with the political science portions of the *Purāṇas*, 5th and 7th centuries, A.C.

**Purāṇas** The *Nibandhakāras* and the *Purāṇas* have no originality. The *Purāṇas* merely copy some chapters from some well-known authors, e.g., the *Agri-Purāṇa* borrows from an author called *Paśhikāra*.<sup>1</sup> The Hindu jurists of Muhammadan times, however, evince a strong desire for collecting materials, and the great value of their work consists in the extracts from authorities which are otherwise unknown. They are, moreover,

Politic in the books of Dharma (Law) 400 B.C. - 500 A.C. witnesses to living traditions in ceremonial matters. Better materials, next in value only to regular treatises, are to be found in the Aphorisms and Codes of Dharma, under the chapter styled the 'Laws for the King,' which represent the constitutional laws as defined by Dharma-writers.

§ 4. We must not lose sight of another class of mediæval productions. The little book *Bṛihaspati-Sūtra*, recently edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas (*Le Mueon*), is one of them. It is a piece of *Artha-Śāstra* literature in *Sūtras*. But in its present shape, it is a product of the Middle Ages, though portions therein are undoubtedly based on ancient materials. It gives, as we shall see, some very valuable information. Similarly, the *Nīti-Vākyaṃṛita* by *Somaśeṣa* who flourished in the tenth century A.C., is in *Sūtras*. It is an eclectic work

---

Sanskrit Series. Chappes'vara's *RN-Ratnakāra* I am willing for the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Before Chappes'vara, two other digest-writers had composed Digests of Hindu Politics: one was *Lakṣmīdhara*, the well-known author of the law-digest *Kalpāraṇa*, and the other was the author of the *Kāśīśāstra*. These scholars compiled *Rājānu-Kalpa-tara* and *Rājānu-Kāśīdhara*, respectively. They have been quoted by Chappes'vara.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Matsya, Chh. cxxv-xxvii.

based generally on old authorities.' The *sūtras* are generally quotations which the Jaina author calls, not altogether without justification, 'immortal essence' (*amṛita*) of 'political maxims.'

§ 5. Ethico-political writings are kept out of our scope.

Political ethical  
and political-  
religious books

Opinion, for instance, would be divided as to the true character of certain works in our vernaculars, like the *Dāsa-Bodha* ('Address to the Enslaved') by the Teacher Rāma-Dāsa, the great text-book of the time of Śivaji Chhatrapati, and the Hindi books of Garu Govinda-Siṃha. Mystic and non-political interpretations would be given by religious enthusiasts to many views apparently political. It is therefore better to leave them out in our present studies.

---

<sup>1</sup> Kanadeva quotes a Sūtra from Maṃu, indicating that he was not the Svāyambhūva M., i.e., the author of the *Dharma Ś.* In other words, he quotes from the Mānava Artha-Sūtra :—

यदाह वैदिकी मनुः । उच्चैः परमाप्युदात्तमेव वदन्ता । यदि ह्यपि नो राजानं सुखावहनि । ततो न ब्रह्मण्यं पश्यान् नीयमिति । इति . N . V . 6 .

II  
VEDIC ASSEMBLIES



## CHAPTER II

### Samiti

#### *The Sovereign Assembly of Vedic Times*

§ 6. Going back to the oldest literature of the race, we find from the Vedas that national life and activities in the earliest times on record were expressed through popular assemblies and institutions. The greatest institution of this nature was the Samiti of our Vedic fore-fathers. The word *samiti* (*sam* + *iti*) means 'meeting-together,' i.e., an assembly. The Samiti was the national assembly of the whole people or *Vishah* (विशः);<sup>1</sup> for we find 'the whole people' or Samiti, in the alternative, electing and re-electing the *Rajan* (राजः) or 'King.'<sup>2</sup> The whole people were supposed to be present in the Assembly.

§ 7. The functions of the Samiti may be gathered from different references. We have already noticed the most important business of the Samiti, to wit, electing the *Rajan*.<sup>3</sup> It could also re-elect a king who had been banished.<sup>4</sup> They were thus a sovereign

<sup>1</sup> In Vedic times, Hindu Society was divided into *Jasas*, tribes or nations e.g., Anus, Yadus, Kurus. But, at the same time, they were conscious of the fact that they all belonged to one common race, for all of them called themselves "*aryas*" आर्यः. The people or the tribe were called *Vishah* (विशः), from which the word *Vishva* ('out of the people' — 'the commoner') is derived. On Vedic Society, consult Zimmer, *Alt-indisches Leben*. See also Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, sub *Arya, Janu*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> विश्वं सवी वाचमनु. Rig-Veda, i. 173.1. Atharva-Veda, vi. 87-1.

पुनर्यं ते समितिः बभूवामिह. AV., vi. 88. 3.

तं विश्वो ऽजतो राज्याय AV., iii. 4.2.

Also A.V., iii. 3.4.5. See *infra* § 204.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. सार्वे समितिः कथन्ते. AV., vi. 19. 15.

<sup>4</sup> See *infra*, Chapter XXIII on Vedic Kingship.

body from the constitutional point of view. In the Atharva-Veda, VI. 64, which is a prayer-hymn for union and concord, and also in the R̥ig Veda, (X 191. 3), we have a prayer for a 'common Samiti' and 'common policy of State' (समानी मन्त्रः समितिः समानी), a 'common aim and a common mind' (समानं वत् प्रहृ चित्तमेषाम्).<sup>1</sup> This indicates that matters of state ('mantra') were discussed in the Samiti.

The king attended the Samiti, and it was thought necessary that he should do so. The R̥ig-Veda has  
The King and Samiti  
'like a true king going to the Samiti' (राजा न सत्यः समितोरियानः).<sup>2</sup> The inference is that it was the king's duty to attend the Samiti, and that if he did not attend it, he would be considered 'untrue,' the significance of which we shall see when we come to the ceremony of Vedic Coronation. The practice of the king presenting himself before the Samiti continued probably as long as the Samiti existed. The Chhāndogya Upanishad, one of the youngest Vedic works, relating the visit of Śvetaketu Āruṇeya Gautama to the Samiti of the Pañchālas, mentions the King (Pravāhaṇa Jaivala) as present in the Samiti.<sup>3</sup>

§ 8. In deliberations, speakers were anxious to make  
Deliberations  
speeches agreeable to the assembled Samiti (ये संशमाः समितयस्तेषु चाहं वदेम ते).<sup>4</sup> The speaker wanted to prove himself 'brilliant, not to be contradicted,' in the Samiti.<sup>5</sup> To these deliberations would also refer the prayer in the Atharva-Veda, II, 27 :

<sup>1</sup> "Same be their counsel, same their assembly, same their aim, in common their thought." Bloomfield, S. B. E., xlii. 136.

<sup>2</sup> RV., ix. 92. 6 ; Cf. इषीयसीः समन्तं राजानः समितोरिव, RV. x. 91. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Chh. Up., V. 3. Cf. Br. Ār. Up. vi. 2. See § 9 below.

<sup>4</sup> AV., vii. 12. 1 ; xii. 1. 56.

<sup>5</sup> "When he has arrived at the Samiti, he should utter 'Superior to my adversaries.' I have come hither, brilliant, not to be contradicted." अभिमुखमानसं विराजन्-तिराजः—a Vedic text quoted in Pāṇskura-Gr̥hya-Sūtra, III. 13. 4. See SBE, xxi, p. 363.

"May the enemy not win the debate,.....Overcome the debate of those that debate against us, render them devoid of force!"

"Overcome thou the debate of him that is hostile to us, O Indra! Encourage us with thy might! Render me superior in debate."<sup>4</sup>

§ 9. That questions other than political were also occasionally discussed in the Samiti, is borne out by the above-mentioned record about Śvetaketu. Śvetaketu was a young man of great learning who, as the Chhândogya says,<sup>2</sup> claimed complete knowledge of the sacred and philosophic literature at the age of twenty-four. In the Chhândogya and Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishads, we see the young man who had just completed his education, presenting himself before the Samiti, also called the Parishad of the Pañchâlas (पञ्चालानां समितिमेवाय, पञ्चालानां परिषदमाजगाम) The Kshatriya (Rājanya) king in the Assembly of the Pañchâla nation, Pravāhana Jaivali (or Jaivala), put to him five philosophic questions, none of which the humptious young man (Kumâra) could answer, and "he had to go away with the remark of Jaivali: "How could "anybody who did not know these things say that he had been "educated?"<sup>3</sup> Here we find the Samiti acting as a sort of national academy.

§ 10. It is noticeable that references to the Samiti in the Rîg Veda are to be found only in portions which are considered to be the latest. We may, therefore, conclude that the Samiti was a product of the developed, not early, Vedic age.<sup>1</sup> The developed stage of debate, evidently a free right of discussion, the anxiety of the debater to win over the opinion of others, all point to a culture of considerable degree. In the Germanic folk-assembly, we have some nobleman speaking and the ordinary people present merely expressing

<sup>1</sup> S.R.R. XLII 137-8.

<sup>2</sup> Chhândogya Up., VI (Prapâthaka), 1 Cf. Âpastamba Dharma-Sûtra I 2. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> Chh. Up., v 3; Bṛh. Ar. Up. vi 2.

inarticulate approval, conveyed by noise of arms<sup>1</sup>: the stage of debate is not yet known to them. It is therefore not accurate to compare the Samiti (as some European scholars have done) with the early folk-assemblies of Western Europe.

Another index of the developed stage of the Samiti is that the Samiti, like the *Sabhā* (which we shall presently discuss) had its *Patī* or *Īśāna*, President. For instance, see the *mantra* cited in *Pāraskara-Gṛhya-Sūtra*, III. 13.4: 'the lord (*Īśāna*) of this assembly is a man insuperable in his power.'

It is clear, as observed above, that the whole people were considered to be present in the Samiti. But when, for instance, *Śvetaketu* goes to the Samiti of the *Pañchālas* where philosophers and statesmen were sitting, it would be hardly probable that the whole nation, without any principle of representation, would be actually present. We already find in the Vedic period the principle of representation appreciated and variously acted upon: we have the *Grāmanī* or the 'leader' of the town or village, as a representative *persona* in the coronation ceremony;<sup>2</sup> representatives of trade also are seen at the ceremony. From a passage in the 'Hymn to the Land' of the *Atharva-Veda*, where the Samitis (XII. 156, वे सग्रामा समितयः 'the assembled Samitis') of the whole land are referred to, it seems that those who were assembled (*samgrāmāḥ*) were the 'villages together' (*samgrāma*). The village, as a collective unit, is well known: *Śaryāta Mānava* 'wandered about' with his *grāma* (*Śatapatha*, IV. 1, 5, 2, 7).<sup>3</sup> In later times in

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Monibus et Populi Germaniae* c. II.

<sup>2</sup> S B E., xix. 332. Original: चमत् पर्वदे ईशानः सग्रामा सुवहरी जन वति ।

<sup>3</sup> See *infra* § 211.

<sup>4</sup> वे सग्रामा वदन्तु या सभा अपिनुमन्तु ।

वे सग्रामाः समितयन्ते न सान् वदेत ते ।

<sup>5</sup> Cf. "In several passages, the word (*grāma*) occurs with what appears to be the derivative sense of 'body of men.'" Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I. 245.

in law-books, 'the village' fights out legal disputes; 'the village' is even fined. The Grāmanī was the key-stone of the village-constitution. The village even took to themselves the name of their leader (Grāmanī). We have the 'village-together' meeting (*samgrāma*) 'desirous of agreement' in the Taittiriya Saṃhitā (संसमि संयते समवक्रामः<sup>1</sup>). It seems that the village formed the basis of the constitution of the Samiti, if not originally, certainly, in later times.

§ 11 The Samiti had a very long life. We find it in the Vedic age itself regarded as eternal, called 'a daughter of Prajāpati',<sup>2</sup> the Creator. It must have been, therefore, an ancient institution even then. Its continuous existence is attested by the R̥g-Veda and the Atharva-Veda, and later, by the Uhhāndogya Upanishad (800 or 700 B. C.) which nearly marks the end of the later Vedic period. The period covered by these records extends over several centuries. That the institution did not far outlive the later Vedic age and did not come down to the epoch which in its latest phase saw the rise of empires, is borne out by the Pāraskara-Grihya Sūtra (c. 500 B. C.) which treats the Samiti (called by the other name, *Parishat*, or rather *Parashat*)<sup>3</sup> evidently as a reminiscence (Pār. G. III. 13. 4). In Pāraskara the ancient tradition of Samiti is merely applied to the Sabhā, as the opening sentence indicates (सभातः समाप्रययन्म्). The Samiti disappears before the time of the Jātakas (600 B. C.). We have thus the age-history of the Samiti from the latter part of the millennium of the R̥g-Veda

<sup>1</sup> See Kāmāṇḍu on P., v. 3. 112. 'देवदत्तो ग्रामणीरिति न स्मि देवदत्तवा'.

<sup>2</sup> II. 1.8.4. OL. वादेति दुर्गतिरिदमर्थं समयः । तद्वृत्तिः सन्निवृत्त्यर्थः. Bhāṣya. Bhāskara Mīra on TS.

Inter-village gathering for war purposes gave the secondary meaning of 'war' to the expressive *samgrāma*.

<sup>3</sup> A. V., VII. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Parishat*, III. means the 'great session'. The *meeting* of the Samiti came to denote the Samiti itself. The form *parashat* is also occasionally found. (Cf. Baudhānyan, Dh. 3., i. 1. 9.)

down to about 700 B. C., a life extending certainly over a thousand years, and very likely longer. In the imperial epoch, we naturally do not find the Samiti, but we find another institution which, as we shall see (Ch. xxvii), was a phoenix, arisen out of the ashes of the Samiti.

## CHAPTER III

### The Sabha

§ 12. There was another noteworthy constitutional organism in the Vedic Age and later. It was the *Sabha*. It is described as a sister of the *Samiti*, one of the two daughters of *Prajāpāti*<sup>1</sup>. This also was a popular body. Prayer for co-operation in the *Sabha* shows that discord in the *Sabha* assembly was as much disliked and dreaded as in the *Samiti*. The

*Sabha* a distinguished popular body

<sup>1</sup> Atharva Veda: 7, 12.

सभा च सा समितिपुत्रतां प्रजापदेद्विपतीं संविदाम् ।

देवा सभा इमं सा च विद्यावाक् वदन्ति विदवाः संविदः ॥ १ ॥

विद ते सुमे नाम मरिचः नाम वा अग्निः ।

दे ते के च समासद्वे मे कलुः समासतः ॥ २ ॥

प्रवासं समासीषाणां वचो विज्ञानमा ददे ।

अवाः सर्वमाः सुं सदी मानिन्द मयिं तव ॥ ३ ॥

प्रुवी ममः प्रामतः कुरुवमिह देव सा ।

तद्व च कं दामि मदि वी वसती ममः ॥ ४ ॥

Translation:—

(1) "May the *Samiti* and the *Sabha*, the two daughters of *Prajāpāti*, concurrently aid me. May he with whom I shall meet co-operate with me; may I, O Ye Fathers, speak agreeably to those assembled."

(2) "We know thy name, O Assembly; *Varishat* verily is thy name. May all those that sit assembled in thee utter speech in harmony with me."

(3) "Of them that are sitting together I take to myself the power and the under-standing in this entire gathering, O Indra, render me successful."

(4) "If your mind has wandered to a distance, or has been enchained here or there, then do we turn it hither: May your mind take delight in me!"

[I have adopted the translation of the hymn as proposed in the *Sacred Books of the East* volume on the *Atharva-Veda* (xiii, 135), with the exception of the rendering of *varishat* which has been translated there as 'mirth,' and, alternatively, as 'most favourable to men' (p. 344).]

Sabhā is called *navishā* which Sāyana explains as a *resolution* of 'many' that cannot be broken or violated (नरिष्टाः चर्हिमिता

परैरनभिभाष्या--बहवः सभूय यद्येकं वाक्यं वदेयुस्तानि न  
परैरतिवह्यम् अतः अनतिलह्यवाक्यत्वात् नरिष्टेति

नामः). 'Hence from the inviolability the name is derived.' With reference to this name, the speaker wishes that 'all those that sit assembled in Thee, utter speech in harmony with me.' Free discussion was thus held in the Sabhā, and a resolution of the Sabhā was considered binding on all and inviolable. Evidently, the Sabhā was almost as important as the Samiti.

§ 13 It was certainly related to the Samiti, but its exact relationship is not deducible from the data available. Probably it was the standing and stationary body of selected men working under the authority of the Samiti. *Sabhā*, means, *lit.*, 'a body of men shining together.' Those entitled to a seat therein were invested, so to say, with lustre. They are pointedly alluded to.<sup>2</sup> They were 'objects of special respect.' The Sabhā had its president, called *Sabhā-pati*.<sup>3</sup>

Composition of the  
Sabhā

It seems there were 'Elders' in the Sabhā. We meet with Elders and 'Fathers' of councils in other ancient bodies holding executive authority (§ 43). Reference to the "Fathers" in the above-quoted hymn is probably to the Fathers or Elders in the Sabhā, a view which Sāyana alternatively puts forward (हे पितरः पालकाः.....पितृभूता वा हे सभासदो जनाः).

§ 14. One function of the Sabhā is definitely clear. The Sabhā acted as the national judicature.

Judicial Function of  
the Sabhā

The Sabhā is called '*Trouble*' and '*Vehemence*' in the Pāraskara Grīhya.<sup>4</sup> As 'trouble' and 'vehemence'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jayatīma : बहव अनेक सदृशो भवतीति सभा । Pāraskara Grīhya, II.13.1.

<sup>2</sup> AV. vii. 12 ; White Yajur, xvi. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. Yajur-Veda, xvi. 24 नमः सभासतः सन्तोषतिनमः ।

<sup>4</sup> See § 14, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> II. 13 सदृशोभसि लिपिभोभसि । Jayatīma renders them as 'sounding' and 'shining'.

were in store there for the culprit, the Sabhā seems to have acquired those names, like the present day appellation "Criminal" of our Criminal Courts. In the Purushamedha of the Śukla Yajur-Veda, Sabhā-Chara, 'one going to the Sabhā,' is dedicated as a victim to Justice (धर्माय सभाचरम्, 30.6). Again, the Rig-Veda (X. 71. 10) describes the friends of one who has come back successful from the Sabhā 'joyful' and 'delighted' and the man himself as 'free from blame.'

सर्वे नन्दन्ति यशमागतेन सभामाहुन सख्या सखायः ।

किञ्चिदस्पृत्यितुषणिह्यमरं हितो भवति वालिनाय ॥

The White Yajur-Veda mentions also people repenting of the sins committed in the Sabhā.

The Jātakas preserve an old memorial verse, which says that the Sabhā which has no good people (सन्तो) is no Sabhā, that the people who do not speak out the Dhamma (justice) are not good people, that those who avoid personal sentiments and speak out justice are called the 'good people':

न सा सभा यत्र न संति संतो न ते संतो ये न भणन्ति धर्मं ।

एतं च दीर्घं च पहाय मोहं धर्मं भणन्ता च भवन्ति संतो ॥

§ 15. In Vedic literature the expression *Sabhā* is used in

*Sabhā* a later Vedic institution several senses, for instance, to denote a hall, a house, the gambling hall, and the royal court. In our constitutional sense, there is only one late

(तदनशीला दीर्घा) because of performance of Justice (धर्मनिष्पत्त्या). 'Trouble' and 'Voluntance' are Oldenberg's emendations in S. B. E. xlix. 362. If Jayasena's view be right, शिषि would refer to the fire which, according to the law-books, was kept in the court-house and which is probably also indicated by the Vedic term *śāḍha* for fire (Atharva V., viii. 19.3). See § 18, n. 3, fire was kept also in the *Vidātha* *śāḍhi* as 'sounding,' may point to the feature contributed by discussion.

१ अथानि यदरुहे सभामाहं वदिन्ति ॥

यच्छ्रेष्ठे इदमेव वदेत्तद्वक्ता यथं वदेत्तद्वक्त्रि धर्मोऽस्य सभायश्चक्रमसि ॥ XX. 17.

२ Jātaka, v. 503. The first half of the verse is given by Vyāsa in his lawbook in the description of the legal Sabhā (Aparātha, V., II. 4). Instead of *santo* ('the good') Vyāsa has *śāḍha* or *śāḍhi*, which shows that probably the *sabhā* was originally composed of Elders.

reference in the *Rig-Veda*, viz., in X.71.10, noticed above. The rise of the *Sabhā*, therefore, is to be dated like that of the *Samiti* in the latest period of the *Rig-Veda*. Its career is co-extensive with that of the *Samiti*. Even during royal and imperial centralisation, as we shall see, the judicial *Sabhā* of the king preserved traces of its popular origin and retained some important popular features in its administration of justice.

§ 16. The *Samiti* and *Sabhā* were not the only popular institutions of the Vedic times. The religious *Vidatha* and *Senā* life was organised through the *Vidatha* assembly,<sup>1</sup> which had existed even earlier<sup>2</sup> than the *Samiti*. It seems to have been the parent folk-assembly from which the *Sabhā*, *Samiti* and *Senā* differentiated, for we find the *Vidatha* associated with civil, military and religious functions (Roth).<sup>3</sup> The *Senā* or the Army, which was in early times the nation-in-arms, was regarded as a body by itself and evidently as a constitutional unit :

तं सभा च समितिश्च सेना च .

(AV., XV.9.2)

Much information about the *Senā* is not yet available, and we are here more concerned with the civil aspect of our Hindu polity.

§ 17. In later times education was separately organised in *Charakas*, which were a sort of Vedic Faculties. The *Parishad* or Convocation of learning had evidently separated from the

<sup>1</sup> AV. I. 13.4. (Whitney translates by 'council')

<sup>2</sup> RV. I. 60. (where fire is called the flag (*Kera*) of *Vidatha*. Zimmer (p. 177) thinks, probably not correctly, that it was a smaller body of the *Samiti* (M & K).

<sup>3</sup> विदथन् यीमिः यमं राजानं वसिष्ठीं यथावे, RV. 2. 38. 5; RV., 17. 1. 4, 3.26.5. See also M. & K., F. L. on *Vidatha*.

<sup>4</sup> This and the reference in the *Prithivi-Sukta* (AV. xii. 1. 56) conclusively prove that the *Sabhā* was a distinct institution like the *Senā* and that it was not the building where the *Samiti* met, as taken by some scholars.

general national *Parishad* or *Samiti*. Economic life, similarly, was crystallised in trade-guilds and guilds merchant whose existence is traced in the Jātakas and Dharma-sūtras. In post-Vedic times, national life thus expresses itself into various self-governing institutions, and, in doing so, it really carries forward the Vedic traditions of communal institutions.



III

HINDU REPUBLICS:

(a) RISE AND PROSPERITY



## CHAPTER IV

### Rise of Hindu Republics

and

### Hindu Terms for Republics

§ 18. *Republics generally post-Vedic institutions* Hindu Republics are another illustration of the communal self-governing habits of the post Vedic age, referred to in our last paragraph. The early Vedas know only monarchy. Departure from this normal constitution was made in post-Vedic times, and, as Megasthenes also records the tradition, 'sovereignty (kingship) was dissolved and democratic governments set up' in various places.<sup>1</sup> The Mahā-Bhārata, similarly, as we shall see in our discussion on Hindu Monarchy, considers monarchy alone as the Vedic form of government. The hymns of the Rik and Atharvan, the view of the Mahā-Bhārata and the tradition which Megasthenes heard in India in the fourth century B. C., all point to the fact that republican form of government in India came long after monarchy,<sup>2</sup> and after the early Vedic age. It appears in the later Vedic literature: in the Rigvedic Brāhmaṇa the Aitareya, and in the Yajurveda and its Brāhmaṇa the Taittirīya. The republican constitutions mentioned in these documents will be discussed, for the sake of convenience and clearness, after the better known cases of later history.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Epitome of Megasthenes, Diol. II. 32; Mc Crindle, *Megasthenes*, pp. 38, 40.

<sup>2</sup> See Ch. X. below.

The account of Hindu States of non-kingly forms of government presents a great chapter in the constitutional history of the race. We will therefore pay particular attention to it in these studies.

§ 19. Prof. Rhys Davids, in his *Buddhist India*, showed that republican form of government obtained in the country of the Buddha and his neighbours. But it had not been pointed out that our literature preserves technical names for Hindu Republics. One of these terms which first attracted my attention was the word Gaṇa. In the *Āchārāṅga Sāra* of the Jaina branch of Hindu literature, I came across the terms Dvārajjāni and Gaṇa-rāyāni (II 3.1.10)<sup>1</sup> which struck me as defining constitutions. Dvārajjāni were states ruled by two rulers; similarly, Gaṇa-rāyāni would be states where Gaṇa or 'numbers' ruled. In other places, I found the word gaṇa alone standing for a gaṇa-state. Further enquiry supplied evidence to confirm my belief that Gaṇa denoted a republic and that its interpretation as then current ('tribe,' by Fleet and others; 'corporation of tradesmen or 'workmen,' by Bühler) was wrong. I further noticed that Saṃgha was another term in the same sense. Some of the data on which my conclusions were based were set forth in the original essay published under the title of the present work.<sup>2</sup> Now I am in possession of new materials which throw further light on the significance of the two terms.

§ 20. It is necessary to ascertain what was exactly meant by gaṇa. It means 'numbers': gaṇa-rājya will therefore mean the rule of 'numbers,' 'the rule by many.' Here the Buddhist Canon comes to our

<sup>1</sup> *अक्षरानि वा अक्षरानि वा अक्षरानि वा अक्षरानि वा अक्षरानि वा अक्षरानि वा अक्षरानि वा*—  
See on the significance of these terms *infra* §§ 100-101. Gaṇa-rājya is given by *Yāgyavalkya* also. *Ri. S.*, IV, 14.

<sup>2</sup> *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, 1913.

assistance. The Buddha was asked as to how the number of the monks was to be made out <sup>१</sup>—

“At that time the people asked the Bhikkhus who went about for alms: ‘How many Bhikkhus are there, Reverend Sirs?’

“The Bhikkhus replied, ‘We do not know, friends!’

“The people were annoyed. They told this thing to the “Blessed One.”

The Buddha prescribed that the brethren should be counted on the Uposatha day by the system employed in a *gaṇa* or by collecting voting tickets:

“I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you count (the Bhikkhus) on “the day of Uposatha by the method of *gaṇanā* (*gaṇa-  
“anggena gaṇetum*) or that you take the voting tickets (*salākāḥ*.”

The Bhikkhus were to be counted in an assembly by the method of counting votes as done in a *gaṇa*, or by the method of ballot-voting<sup>2</sup> where tickets were collected. In this connexion let us also take the term *gaṇapāraṇa* of the Pali Canon.<sup>3</sup> The *gaṇapāraṇa* was an officer who saw whether the lawful quorum of the assembly was formed before it transacted official business. It literally means “the Completer of the *Gaṇa*.” *Gaṇa* thus was the *assembly* or *parliament*, so called because of the “number” or “numbering” of the members present. *Gaṇarājya*, consequently, denoted *government by assembly* or *parliament*. The secondary meaning of *Gaṇa* came to be “parliament” or “senate,” and as republics were governed by them, *gaṇa* came to mean a republic itself.)

§ 21. Pāṇini, dealing with the formation of the word *saṃgha*, in III. 3. 86 (संघोहो मणवर्षमघोः) says that the word

<sup>1</sup> *Mahāvagga*, II, 18. See Translation by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in S.B.E., XIII, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, Ch. XL on *Proceedures of Deliberations*.

<sup>3</sup> *संघपूजो वा भविष्यामि*, *Mahāvagga*, III, 5. 6; Cf. S.B.E., Vol. XIII, p. 297.

*samgha* (as against the regular *samghāṭṭa*,<sup>1</sup> derived from *han*, III 3, 76) is in the meaning of *gana*. When Pāṇini has occasion to mention individual *Samghas*, he names communities which are known from monumental and other evidence to have been republican.<sup>2</sup> In his time *Samgha* denoted *Gana*, and the religious *Samgha* does not appear to have come into prominence. In fact, as we shall see, the latter was a copy of the political *Samgha*. Known republican bodies are called by Kāṭilya *Samghas*.<sup>3</sup> There is thus not much room to doubt that *Samgha* originally meant a republic. The most ancient work of the Buddhist, the Pāli Piṭaka, itself confirms this. The Majjhima Nikāya (I. 4. 5, 35) uses the terms *samgha* and *gana* side by side, taking them to mean, without the fear of least confusion, the republics of the time of the Buddha: '*imesaṃ pi hi ttha Gotama saṃghāṇaṃ, 'gaṇānaṃ sayathidaṃ Vajjinaṃ Mallānaṃ'*' "and "this is so, O Gotama, in respect of the *Saṃghas*, "*Ganas*, for instance, the Vajjis, Mallas." Thus *samgha* and also *gana*, which are used here as in Pāṇini, synonymously, signified, *par excellence*, the republics. The republics were the *samghas* and the *ganas* at the time. Their secondary use, adoption by religious communities of the time, was just taking shape.<sup>4</sup>

The term *gana* signified the form of *government*. *Samgha*, on the other hand, signified the *state*. As Patañjali says, *Saṃgha* is so called because it is one body, a unity (*samānana*).<sup>5</sup> As we shall see presently, the *Samgha*, as a unit, a *body politic*, had its 'arms' like a king or a corporation aggregate.

<sup>1</sup> अणधर्मसङ्घीः सिद्धः । अणधर्मः । Kāśikā, p. 214 (Benares, 1898).

<sup>2</sup> See below, § 40.

<sup>3</sup> See the use of *samgha* and *gana* in MN. I. 4. 5, and also here § below 23, a.

<sup>4</sup> अणधर्मो ह्यणः, on Pāṇini, V. I. 59 ; Kielhorn, II, p. 366 (2nd Ed.)

<sup>5</sup> See *infra* § 41.

§ 22. A wrong value to *gana* has been assigned in the Dictionary of Monier-Williams which has misled many modern students of Sanskrit literature. Monier-Williams translated the word by the English word *tribe*. This meaning was adopted by the late Dr. Fleet in his translation of the Gupta Inscriptions in connexion with the *Malava-gana* of those records. When my interpretation was published, Dr F W Thomas, the foremost Indianist scholar in England, pointed out that the 'tribe' meaning was to be given up. And when Dr Fleet insisted on the correctness of his rendering—'tribe'—Dr Thomas challenged him to show that meaning from Sanskrit literature. Dr Fleet found no authority except that of modern English translations of the Raghuvamśa and the Mahā-Bhārata. Dr Thomas drew attention to the fact that the St. Petersburg Dictionary and some later Dictionaries never authorised and accepted the 'tribe' interpretation. Further data collected by me on the point leave no room for controversy.

§ 23. Pāṇini, as we have seen, equates *gana* with *saṃgha*. No one would say that the word *saṃgha* can in any way be connected with 'tribe' there. Again, new *ganas* were founded.<sup>2</sup> Would that mean that new 'tribes' were founded? Such a meaning would hardly deserve consideration.

§ 24. The *Jātakas*, vols I and II, have two passages which help us considerably in appraising the value of *gana*. They describe how families in Śrāvastī managed to entertain the Bhikkhus of the Buddha's Order. Some households combined into threes and fours, in some cases the whole quarter combined together, and jointly

<sup>1</sup> J. R. A. S. 1914, pp. 413-1619; 1915, p. 523; 1916, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> See *śūtra*, Ch. cv. See Śāmsiddhānta Sūtra (§§ 2-7); where Teachers, or founders of new schools, are called "Saṃgha-śāstra-gaṇi etc."—'Founder of Saṃgha and Founder of *gana*.' This also displaces the 'tribe' theory.

provided for the feasts of the Bhikkhus, while in some cases 'many' people managed the entertainment by 'combining' according to the '*gaṇa-binding*' (*gaṇa-bandhana*).<sup>1</sup> Here the real sense of *gaṇa* becomes apparent: *assembly* or *association*. The word *bandhana* (the *binding*, Ger. 'band') shows the artificial nature of the *gaṇa*-organization, as opposed to the tribal and primitive.

§ 25 The best discussion on the subject is Ch. 107 of the Śānti-Parvan of the Mahā-Bhārata which tells us in the clearest possible terms what *gaṇa* was. I give the whole chapter with translation in chapter XIV below. *Gaṇas* were noted according to that, for their successful foreign policy, for their full treasury, for their ready army, for their skill in war, for their good laws, for their discipline. Mantra or policy of state and the discussion of that policy by the large number of the *gaṇa* are alluded to. These characteristics, among others, cannot refer to a tribe as such or to a corporation of traders; they refer to *gaṇa* as an organization of assembly-government or republic. Its general meaning is 'assembly' and technical, 'assembly-government or a republic'.

In the time of the legal commentators, *gaṇas* as political institutions had long ceased to exist. But the commentators never fell into the error of taking them as 'tribes.' They treat them as artificial associations or assemblies, e.g., take the view cited by Dr. Jolly in his translation of Nārada (S. B. E., xxxiii, p. 6, n.), "*gaṇa*, an assembly of co-habitants."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Jolly,

<sup>1</sup> Jātaka, I, 422: Kaṇḍhī tpi-chattāri ekato hutvā, kaṇḍhī gaṇa-bandhanena, kaṇḍhī vṛthi-sahāgama, kaṇḍhī sahala-nagarāṃ chāndakam saṃharitvā. Jātaka, II, 45, gaṇa-bandhanena bahū ekato hutvā.

<sup>2</sup> In that meaning it is used also in the *Dirghaśruti* which calls the body of ministers the *gaṇa* of ministers, pp. 404, 420.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jagannātha, "अदिगदो दण्डधर्मः दण्डविषयः," Jolly, Nārada-Smṛiti (text).

in fact, translates *gana* in verse 7 of Nārada as 'assembly,' and *ganartham* as 'on behalf of Society.' Though it is not strictly the technical sense of Nārada, yet it is very near the original sense and it follows the spirit.

Amarasana author of the early Gupta time (very probably, under Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya) explains in his lexicon the constitutional terms *Rajaka* and *Rajanyaka* as a *gana* of kings and a *gana* of Kshatriyas (ordinary rulers) respectively ( . . . यद्य राजकम् : राजन्यकं च वृषतिचक्रियाणां गणे क्रमात् : II. 8. xi. 3—4).

§ 26 In the *Avadāna-Sataka*, *ganarule* is opposed to royal rule. Merchants from the Middle Country of Northern India had gone to the Deccan in the time of the Buddha. When questioned by the King of the Deccan, 'Gentlemen Merchants, who is the king there (in Northern India)?' they replied :

"Your Majesty, some countries are under *gana*s and some are under kings."

Here the royal form of government is contrasted with the *gana*-form; these were the two divisions. And the only form of government which can be contra-distinguished from the royal is republican.

§ 27. A Jaina text in explaining *gana* says that with reference to human society *gana* is a group with the main characteristic of 'possessing a mind,' of being conscious. According to the text there is also an abuse of the term. The examples given of its right use are: 'the *gana* of the Mallas (a known republican community, as we shall

p. 163 & Nīlakaṇṭha in his *Tyāgāra-Mayākha* (Ch. on Saṃvīdya-tikrama), equates *gana* with *Samgha*.

<sup>1</sup> S. B. E., XXXIII, p. 247, verse 24.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Speyer, Porregetal, 1902, II, p. 163 "यद्य महादेशाधिकारी दक्षिणादिभ्यः सतः ; तैः राज्ञी महादेशाधिकार्य भवतुमुपरीतम् : राजा उक्तं नो दक्षिणः कस्य राजेति । दक्षिणः कस्यचित् । हेन केचिद्भिन्ना दक्षिणीयाः केचिदाक्षीया रति ।" I am thankful to Mr. Ramaprasad Chandra for this reference.

presently see') and 'the *gana* of the Pura,' i.e., the Pura assembly (see below, ch. xxviii, on the *Paṇḍrā*). As an example of its abuse, the *gana* of Vasus (Vasu gods) is given by the commentator. Its non-social use is pointed out in music (*bhāva-gaṇa*). Non-constitutional *gaṇas*, according to the commentary, lack mentality or purpose [in making up the group],<sup>1</sup> e.g., 'Vasugana' (the Vasu gods).<sup>2</sup> In other words, the application of the word to a non-constitutional body is distinguished. The constitutional *gaṇa* is the real *gaṇa*, and in the eye of the Jaina authority, it has a mind: it is an organised conscious body of men like the political assembly of the Mallas or the assembly of the corporate Paura. It is a corporate assembly, as opposed to a mere multitude or chance collection.

§ 28. This passage, along with the discourse in the *Mahā-Bhārata* on *Gaṇas*, the *Jātaka* and the *Avadāna* references, and Pāṇini's equation of *saṅgha* with *gaṇa* leave no doubt as to the real significance of *gaṇa*.

Now we may pass on from the terms to the republics themselves.

<sup>1</sup> See ch. vii, below.

<sup>2</sup> सचिदादि समूहा लोकादि लोकी न समूहादि :

कुशाग्रवर्णादि लोकाग्र लोकाग्रलोकाग्र न—Text quoted in the *Jaina Prakṛta Encyclopedia*, *Abhidhāna Rājanīya* (Benares, 1919), Vol. III, p. 512, comments 'सचिदसमूही लोका समूहादि'..... 'सचिदसमूही लोका समूहादि' कुशाग्रवर्णादि लोकाग्रलोकाग्र न—'लोकः परिभाषकः' (p. 511).

Cf. on *सचिद* Pāṇini, IV. 2.47; and IV. 2.96 where political loyalty is implied in the *सचिद*, 'with mentality,' 'thought', and see infra § 118 and so.

## CHAPTER V

### Republics in Pāṇini

§ 29. Pāṇini gives most valuable information about Hindu Republics of his time which I take to be about 500 B.C.<sup>1</sup> He gives several rules about the formation of words connected with *Saṃgha*s. The large number of the rules impresses one with the importance which the contemporaries<sup>2</sup> of Pāṇini attached to the existing republics. Like any other important, orthodox institution the Republics engaged the attention of the orthodox grammarians. Further, Pāṇini gives an indication as to the part of the country and area covered by the republics in his days.

With Pāṇini, as we have seen above, the word *Saṃgha* is a technical term which denoted the *political Saṃgha*, or, as he calls it, the *Gaṇa* or Republic. He does not know the *religious Saṃgha*, which, as we shall presently see (§ 43), was a copy of the *political Saṃgha*. In the days of Pāṇini, Buddhist and Jain *Saṃghas* either did not exist (and in that case Pāṇini's date would be about 600 B. C.), or they had not become important. It is to be noticed that *Kātyāyana* (cir. 400 B.C.)

<sup>1</sup> This date is based on political data in Pāṇini which may be discussed in detail in a separate paper. Here, however, attention may be drawn to the fact that Pāṇini knew the Order of Maakkhatti Wundarera (= *Musharira*, VI. 1. 154; M. V. p. 256, *Musharira*; see the remark of Patanjali on the word) The Maakkhatti merged into the Ajivakas in the time of Maakkhatti Horāla, contemporary of the Buddha, from whose times they acquired the latter designation. Agga had evidently ceased to be a separate kingdom, while Kosala was still independent (IV. 1. 176-177). Again, Pāṇini knew *Saṃgha*, as discussed above, only in the sense of a republic. The mention of the script of the Yamasas can now be easily explained, in view of their identification proposed here below with the Indus Valley State of Nysa, on the Kabul river, which had existed long before Alexander. See also Greek letters on Persian coins struck in India, Bapson, IC, pl. I.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. B. S. I, pp. 82, 116.



The results of the above discussion are that *Saṃgha* is contrasted with *monarchy*, and that a *Saṃgha* or a Hindu republic had Brahmin members, Kshatriya members and other castes, i.e., the personnel of the *Saṃghas* was not composed of one caste or tribe.

Alpudhijir in Samgah  
named in Paumi

§ 32. Pāpini mentions the following *Simhas* or Republics by name:—

1. the Vṛikā;
2. the Dāmanī ('and others');<sup>1</sup>
3. the Trigarttas Shashṭha<sup>2</sup> or the League
- to } of the Six Trigarttas whose names are
8. } given in the Kāśikā on the authority of an ancient
- verse as follows:—
- (a) the Kaṇḍoparathā
- (b) the Dāṇḍakī;
- (c) the Kaushṭakī;
- (d) the Jālamānī;
- (e) the Brāhmagupta
- (f) the Jānakī;
9. the Yaudheyā, 'and others,'<sup>3</sup> and
10. the Pārgvā, 'and others.'<sup>4</sup>

[illegible]

५५. अविमदवृत्तं विमर्शम् । इव सा भगु । मिद्विही भवति साक्यभवापत्तौ वैदित्वा ।

— *Kiehlhorn*, Vol. 11, pp. 262, 272.

<sup>1</sup> This term descriptive. The meaning of this Sutra is with the previous one, which is already quoted above.

<sup>१</sup> दामन्यादि विस्तीर्णमात्रम् ॥३४०॥३५०॥

१. आचार्यभट्टकृत 'अष्टांग' श्रीश्रीहरदासदासजी ।

कौटिलिजीवनादिप्रमाणानुसारं प्रमाणानुसारं ॥ ४॥ ४॥

\* *वर्णविशेषादिप्रमाणानुसारेण* The Kaśhā, after this Sūtra, says that with 117, the *dyudhaya-saṃyoga* description ends. Br. iv. 1. 176 (to be read with

Pāṇini calls these Saṃghas *ayudhajīvinas*, Kauṭilya has in its place *Śāstrapajīvinas*. Now, what is the meaning of this? The first impression will be to interpret it as 'those who live by the profession of arms,' as I took it myself in my essay in the *Modern Review*. But this meaning is not maintainable for two reasons. The Artha Śāstra contrasts the *Śāstrapajīvin* Saṃghas with *Rājāśābdopajīvin* Saṃghas, which means, according to Kauṭilya's farther discussion (p. 377) the Saṃghas whose rulers assume the 'title' (*śabda*) of *rājān*. We know from inscriptions, coins and literature that elected or appointed rulers in some Indian republics did assume that title.<sup>1</sup> Now, here 'upajīvin' cannot mean 'living by,' as a republic cannot *live* by the title *rājā*. The meaning which would suit both classes of Kauṭilya's republics is the other known meaning of the verb *upajīte*, 'to observe' e.g., in *Mān.* X. 74, where a Brahmin is asked to *upajīte* the six duties, which include making gifts.<sup>2</sup> *Upajīvin* in that sense explains that the Saṃghas called 'Śāstrapajīvins' *observed* the practice of arms or military art, and that the Saṃghas called 'Rājāśābdopajīvins' *observed* the practice of assuming the title *rājān*. In other words, their respective constitutions enjoined on the members to be skilled in military

Śūtra 168 *supra*) Pāṇini calls the *Yaudhayan* a *janapada*, a nation or country, i.e., political community.

The *Paravas* of Pāṇini were in the *Vahika* country (See § 31 *infra*), and there were Brahmins and Rājanyas amongst them. The *Paravas* are mentioned in the *Vedas* also, VI. I. pp. 504-5.

<sup>1</sup> राजशब्दमिरवहमर्षिर्वाचनं वा., AS-XIX, p. 377.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. c. xxiii. below ; also § 31.

<sup>3</sup> शास्त्रादयस्त्रयैर्विदुः शस्त्रार्थं शास्त्रज्ञैः ।

ते सम्यग्दर्शयिषुः शस्त्रार्थं विदुः ॥ ७४ ॥

अथानामाश्रयनं शस्त्रं शास्त्रं त्रयः ।

दानं शस्त्रशस्त्रं शस्त्रार्थं शास्त्रज्ञैः ॥ ७५ ॥ *Mān.* X.

Kuṭibka, शस्त्रार्थः—शस्त्रज्ञः ॥

art in the former, and on the rulers or every privileged member to bear the title in the latter (§ 59).

§ 33. The Macedonian writers' describe many of these republics, two of which are the grammarians' 'military' (*āyudhajīvin* or *śāstrapajīvin*) *Saṁghas*; the *Kṣhūdrakās* and the *Mālavās*. Their territories and populations were large. Their states comprised several cities. They were very rich. Any idea of mercenary life is excluded by the Greek description. They were large sovereign states, with noted wealth, prosperity and civil organisation. Do these writers notice any characteristics which may correspond to the *āyudhajīvin*? They do; and their datum agrees with the interpretation which we have offered above. They say that these free communities were the most famous for their *military skill*.<sup>1</sup> The Greek writers further describe one constitution the law of which made the citizens devote only limited attention to military matters, implying thereby that others did the opposite.<sup>2</sup> *Upajīva* thus has a reference to their conventional or constitutional practice. The *āyudhajīvins* of Pāṇini are to be taken as denoting those republics which considered military art as the vital principle of their constitution. That was the chief feature of their constitution in the eyes of their contemporaries, as the chief feature in the other class of republics was the law which allowed the elected president (or every member of a ruling council) to be called *rāja* or 'king.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below, Chapter viii, on Hindu Republics in Greek Writers.

<sup>2</sup> See Strabo, xv. 34, on *Messalienses*; § 51, below.

<sup>3</sup> I take this opportunity to correct the interpretation which I put on the expression *rājan'abhiprāyīna* formerly. I thought that it referred to all the citizens of a republic being called *rājans*. But now I find that no such constitution existed. The republics mentioned in Buddhist documents, which we shall discuss presently, allowed the title only to the elected president, although the citizens in general are alluded to as *rājans*, in the sense that they composed the sovereign body, and also that every one had the possibility of being elected *Rājan*.

§ 34. Further, Pāṇini says that these republics were situated in the Vāhika Country. Now, <sup>Identification of the Vāhika-land</sup> what was the Vāhika Country? It has been already realized that the people Vāhikas mentioned in the Mahā-Bhārata were in the Punjab.<sup>1</sup> But the significance of the word *Vahika* has not yet been considered. I think the word *Vahika* means 'the country of the rivers,'<sup>2</sup> and as such, the Vāhika-land would comprise the Sind valley and the Punjab. These are exactly the limits given in the Mahā-Bhārata: ('the Vāhikas) that live in the valleys of the five rivers and in that 'of the Sindhu as the sixth.'<sup>3</sup> From the known history of some of the Vāhika republics of the grammar, we can say that the Vāhika land did include Sind. For instance, the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas were partially in Sind.<sup>4</sup> The Kāśikā puts them amongst the illustrations of the Vāhika-Saṁghas.<sup>5</sup> The Vāhika country was 'away from the Himalayas,' i. e., it did not include the mountain districts.<sup>6</sup> [The Six Trigarttas were at the foot of the Himalayas in the Punjab, about Jammu or Kangra.]

<sup>1</sup> See Sylvain Lévi, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxv (1906), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> From the verb *vah* to flow, Cf. बहिनी—a river.

<sup>3</sup> दशनां सिन्धुपद्मानां नदीनां द्विसप्तविंशतिः। Karpā-Parvan, xlv. 7. Nāgata—Pratipoddyota on Pāṇini, वरुणादीनि, 1. 1. 75.

“अथ तु विंशतिरनन्ती विंशतिः षड्मासेषु दक्षिणतः सिन्धुः

वत्सलपञ्चदेवी नदीनां षड्मासेषु दक्षिणतः।”

The whole of the Punjab, according to the Mahā-Bhārata, was under one ruler, who was at Sākala, and the people had become heterodox. This indicates the time of Menander and later.

\* See also Karpā-Parvan, M-Bh., Ch., xl. 41, where the Madras and Sindhu-Sautras are grouped together. Cf. V. Smith, J. R. A. S., 1903, 685.

<sup>5</sup> बह्विंश व आनुचरीविंशतयविंशतिः.....कीलीहस्तः। श्रीहस्तः। मासका...pp 455-6

<sup>6</sup> The Mahā-Bhārata describes the Vāhika country away from the Himalayas (K. P. xlv. 6). Pāṇini also treats the mountaineers as distinct (IV. 3. 91).

§ 35. Besides these martial republics, Pajani gives us the names of six other communities which from independent sources are known to have been republican about that period. These are:—

- (1) the Madra:<sup>2</sup>
- (2) the Vriji:<sup>3</sup>
- (3) the Rājanya:<sup>4</sup>
- (4) the Andhaka-Vrishni:<sup>5</sup>
- (5) the Mahārāja:<sup>6</sup> and
- (6) the Bhargu:<sup>7</sup>

Although Pāṇini had no occasion to call them *Samghas* yet the rules show that he knew them as republican. As we shall have opportunity to discuss these states in sequence, it is not necessary to go into details here.

§ 36. Pāṇini's *Andhaka-Vriśahjās* have to be noted separately. They, in the *Parāṇas*, are identical with the *Sātvats*. The *Sātvats*, according to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, had the *Bhānjya* Constitution, and their rulers were called *Bhojas*.<sup>1</sup> In the *Mahā-Bhārata*, the *Andhaka* rulers are called *Bhojas*, and a subdivision of the

<sup>2</sup> See subsequent chapters for the argument of the republics named here.

[illegible]

<sup>d</sup> सम्मानादिभिः सुप्रसिद्धैः तेषामेव नामैः विख्यातैः देशैः च सम्यक् जानीयात् । See also the Hapagaths on this for names of some other communities which are known to be republicans.

\* राजसूयं यजमानः सन्तुष्टो भवति ।

\* नवद्वारमार्ग, २००१-०२। See discussion below on the Mahatma 'nation'.  
35-118, 125.

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

The Bhargava are called here 'Easterners'. According to the Matsya-Mahatma (Sanskrit-Purāṇa, III, 10, 14), they were between the Vāta territory and the Southern Malas, who were not very far from the Vitchas. Śāstā puts them a political community like the Vaudhāyas, with whom he groups them (IV, 1, 168-78). The Buddhists regard the Bhargava in the significant group extending from Kosala and Kaushthi eastwards, and place the Bhargava next to the Vāta (Buddhist Invas, p. 21; Jataka, III, 167).

\* *Algebra* Böhmen. Bk. vii, 14

Yādavas itself is latterly called Bhojas.' The fact that the Vṛishṇis had no rājans in their constitution, is expressed in folklore and legend in that they had been cursed not to be crowned as kings. The Māhā-Bhārata, in Sabbā-Parvan (xixvii. 5), says that the Daśārṇas (Vṛishṇis) were 'kingless.' That they were a Saṁgha, is attested by Kaṭilya who mentions the Vṛishṇi Saṁgha as having come to grief by offending Dvaipāyana in olden days.<sup>2</sup> The Māhā-Bhārata gives an 'ancient' discourse on the Andhaka-Vṛishṇi Saṁgha.<sup>3</sup> That they had no republican 'rājan,' is proved by their coin which, in the scripts of the first century B.C., is struck in the name of their *Gaṇa*.<sup>4</sup>

§ 37. The Vṛishṇi coin has a peculiarity which distinguishes it from the coins of other republics. Coins of republics where there was no 'king'-consul, were struck in the name of the Gaṇa,<sup>5</sup> e.g., "Victory to the Gaṇa of the Ārjunāyanas," "Of the Mālava-Gaṇa," "Victory of the Yaudheya-Gaṇa." There is one exception to this in the case of one type of the Yaudheya coins which is struck both in the name of the Executive Council (*Mantra-dharas*) and the Gāṇa.<sup>6</sup> The Vṛishṇi coin resembles none of these varieties. It is struck in the name of the *Rājanya* and *Gaṇa*<sup>7</sup> of the Vṛishṇis: "*Vṛishṇi-rājāṇā-gaṇasya*." The constitutional significance of the word, *Rājanya*, has to be ascertained. There is evidence to hold that in the case of the

Constitutional  
significance of  
'Rājanya'

<sup>1</sup> *Sabbāparvan*, Ch. xiv; *Sāntiparvan*, Ch. lxxxi.

<sup>2</sup> *AS*, I, 6, 3, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix A, where the whole discourse has been translated.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 70, pl. IV; J.B.A.S., 1900, pp. 416, 420; 424 (Rapson).

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham, *ibid.*, pp. 77, 89, pl. VI, VII; V. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, pp. 166, 170.

<sup>6</sup> Harlan, *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1884, pp. 138-40.

On *mantra-dharas*, consult discussion below on ministers, under Monarchy, § 302.

<sup>7</sup> Read *ga* instead of *jā*; cf. Kharniṭhī *rājanya* (J.B.A.S., 1900, p. 416.)

Trishpis it had a definite constitutional meaning. Let us examine it.

§ 38 We gather from Pāṇini that there were two Rājanyas amongst the Andhaka-Vṛishṇis.<sup>1</sup> He gives a special rule how to mention them (VI. 2. 34). The Kāśikā,<sup>2</sup> commenting on that says that the rule does not apply to the members of the Andhakas and Vṛishṇis as such, but to their Rājanyas only, the 'Rājanyas being leaders of families consecrated to rulership'. The names of several of these 'dual' groups of Rulers are preserved in literature: the Rājanyas of the groups of Śinī and Vāsudeva, Śvāphalka and Chaitraka are cited in the Kāśikā,<sup>3</sup> the Party (*varga*) of Akrūra and the Party of Vāsudeva are alluded to by Kātyāyana,<sup>4</sup> Vāsudeva and Ugrasena Bābhru are mentioned as leading their parties, in the Māhā-Bhārata (§ 107).

§ 39. Apparently, the Vṛishṇi-Andhaka league had a joint federal constitution where executive power was vested in two *rājanyas*, with their respective *vargās*, representing each division; and this was probably the Rājanyaka of Amara.<sup>1</sup> Kātyāyana mentioning 'the Party (Varga) of Akṛūra' and the

一、二、三、四、五、六、七、八、九、十、十一、十二、十三、十四、十五、十六、十七、十八、十九、二十、二十一、二十二、二十三、二十四、二十五、二十六、二十七、二十八、二十九、三十、三十一、三十二、三十三、三十四、三十五、三十六、三十七、三十八、三十九、四十、四十一、四十二、四十三、四十四、四十五、四十六、四十七、四十八、四十九、五十、五十一、五十二、五十三、五十四、五十五、五十六、五十七、五十八、五十九、六十、六十一、六十二、六十三、六十四、六十五、六十六、六十七、六十八、六十九、七十、七十一、七十二、七十三、七十四、七十五、七十六、七十七、七十八、七十九、八十、八十一、八十二、八十三、八十四、八十五、八十六、八十七、八十八、八十九、九十、九十一、九十二、九十三、九十四、九十五、九十六、九十七、九十八、九十九、一百

\* Rāmānand, रामानन्दजीसंगे बहुवचनमात्रांनी छी वन्दे कीसकय कहने छी पूरवदे मुदासिअर भवति।  
 भावकसंगैवक। (after Dikshita), द्विजनामदेवः। ... यन्मात्रकस्य एते न तु शक्याः। रामानन्दस्य-  
 सिद्धाभित्तिबन्धनां श्रद्धिदायां यन्मात्रकम्। एते च नामनिधित्वेभ्यः। ... बहुवचनमात्रां क्रियुः।  
 अर्कस्य-वासदेवौ।" (p. 540-7).

<sup>2</sup> Katcha, p. 346. *Chlorothraupis* was probably the full name. The Katcha treats it as such; *Tyrannus carolinensis* as does the Katcha Internat.

\* On Pagan, IV, 2194 — अक्षरवत्तः । अक्षरवत्तः । अक्षरवत्तः ।

On the word *ṛṣ*, see discussion below, under JINAFANA, § 258. It really means an assembly or council. Bṛhaspati (Vedānta-Rāmākara, p. 569) calls *gṛha*, *gṛha* (guild) and similar bodies 'varṣa.' Mitrani explains a *varṣa* body as a *gṛha* (Vṛṣṇitrodāya, p. 12). See also Nāṭakāṇṭha, *Maṇḍāla*, I., on *varṣa* as a corporate body, and Pāṇini (V. I. 60), in the sense of assembly whose members were counted. A Senate or Council (*gṛha*) of Kshatriyas is called *Rājyaśākhā* and a council of 'Kings,' *Rājāśākhā*, by Amara (II 841, § 25 above. See also below on *Rājāśākhā*, § 101).

'Party of Vāsudeva,' undoubtedly draws on old literature. Akrūra was an Andhaka leader; and it seems that at one time he was one of the two presidents of the Federal Council. This explains Kṛishṇa's saying in the Mahā-Bhārata that he holds authority or *Aiṣṭvarya* to the extent of one half only (*ardhabhoktā*). In the tradition quoted in the Mahā-Bhārata, the party of Akrūra is bitterly complained against by Kṛishṇa. Probably it is to a constitution like that of the Andhaka-Vṛishṇi that the Jaina Sūtra refers as the rule of opposing parties.<sup>7</sup>

§ 40. Changing dual groups—Vāsudeva and Ugrasena, Akrūra and Vāsudeva, Śini and Vāsudeva—suggest that the Andhaka Rājanya and the Vṛishṇi Rājanya were elected rulers. The coins were struck in the name of the Rājanya and in the name of the Gaṇa, jointly. Other coins struck in the name of Rājanyas without the mention of the name of the states, have been found.<sup>8</sup> In view of our interpretation of the term Rājanya, in all probability, they are republican coins.

§ 41. Pāṇini implies by his rule IV. 3. 127 that a *Samgha* had its *aṅka* and *lakṣhaṇa*.<sup>9</sup> *Aṅka* means a mark, and *lakṣhaṇa* also has a similar significance. I propose to identify this 'lakṣhaṇa' of Pāṇini with the 'lāṅchhana' or heraldic crest of later Sanskrit. The *lakṣhaṇa* was the permanent heraldic mark of a *Samgha*-state which they employed on their seals, and probably also on their coins and standards. The *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya (II. 12, p. 84), in laying down rules for the manufacture of silver and copper coins, calls the Mint-Master '*Lakṣhaṇa-adhyakṣa*' or the 'Director of Lakṣhaṇas.' The Mint-Master appears to have acquired this official designation on account

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix A, § 197.

<sup>8</sup> *Achāranga Sūtra*, II. 3. 10 - *Vivādhikā-śāhya*.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., See Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 60, pl. IV.

<sup>10</sup> महाभारतवर्णनविभागम् ३ : २३ (२७) See Kaṭka, p. 350, शब्दः अङ्कः । लक्षणः । शब्दः अङ्कः ।

of the *lakshana* he stamped on the coins. Evidently this refers to a coinage when no name, far less the figure, of the ruler was struck. The *lakshana*, therefore, in Kaṭilya, is the 'royal' or 'state' mark. The *aṅka*, it seems to me, refers to symbols adopted by changing governments. An elected ruler or body of rulers adopted their own special *aṅka* which was given up when those officers went out of office. In Hindu-Law books we get *h a s t ā ṅ k a* for signature.<sup>1</sup> Kālidāsa uses the term *g o t r ā ṅ k a* in connection with a song, that is a signed song.<sup>2</sup> The verb *aṅk* is used from the time of Kaṭilya<sup>3</sup> (and evidently earlier) up to Kālidāsa,<sup>4</sup> and even later, in the sense of 'marking with letters or figures.' We have the term *R ā j ā ṅ k a*, in Kaṭilya, with which the bulls of the royal stable were marked or branded. *A ṅ k a* thus signifies an individual mark. It may mean even the legend or the motto adopted by a ruler. Reference may be made to the legends *M ā ṇ ā ṅ k a* and *G u ṇ ā ṅ k a* (*aṅka* of King *Māṇa*, *aṅka* of King *G u ṇ a*) of Nepal coins, 425-450 A.D.<sup>5</sup> This interpretation would explain the permanent and the changing symbols and legends on republican coins. In the case of earlier punchmarked coins without legends, a Saṃgha probably employed its special *aṅka* in initial letter-marks and otherwise, and its *lakshana* in the figure of an animal or river, town or the like. The animal most likely is the *lakshana*, and the legend, *aṅka*. The constitutional point is that the corporate

<sup>1</sup> 'महोदधौ कालिदासः' सूत्रिणः राजमुद्रया । *Epitheta Vyasaḥya* quoted in the *Vṛṇanītrodaya*, p. 235 (ed. Jyānananda).

<sup>2</sup> 'उत्सवः वा मलिनमलने नीलं निविष्टं वीर्यं

सर्ववीर्यं दिव्यजलमर्षं मेघमुत्सवकलाः ।

—*Meḡhadūtā*, II, 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Arthashastra*, II, 28, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> *आमादिह* (Sūtrāntakāya).

<sup>5</sup> Last cited by Walke, *J.R.A.S.* 1896, pp. 676-79; Rapson, *C.I.*, 32.

The *Kaṭikā* (p. 304) gives *a ṅ ṅ ā* as an example of *aṅka*. We know that some of the Kaṭikā coins bear the legend *ṢANA*. The *Kaṭikā* is evidently referring to that legend.

character of the *Samgha* is emphasised by the corporate crest and symbols.<sup>1</sup>

§ 42. Again by Sūtra III. 3. 42, Pāṇini indicates a division of republics into two classes : (1) Where no 'upper-and-lower condition' exists, and (2) where the condition does exist.<sup>2</sup> By the first we may understand a one-chamber constitution and by the second a double-chamber constitution. The word used by Pāṇini for (1) is "anauttarādharya," and he lays down the rule that a *Samgha* to which this characteristic attached, was designated *Kāya* or *Nikāya*, meaning one 'body.' In Pāli, *Nikāya* has got the same primary meaning, a 'fraternity' (Childers). The Buddhist fraternity was composed of only one house. Apparently the term was borrowed by the Buddhists from political phraseology. Three political *Nikāyas* are named in grammatical literature : Śāpiṇḍi-*Nikāya*, Maṇḍi-*Nikāya* and Chikkali-*Nikāya*.<sup>3</sup>

As we shall see now (§ 43), *Nikāya* was not the only constitutional designation for the community borrowed by Buddhism. *Samgha* itself was borrowed.

<sup>1</sup> Kātyāyana points out that Pāṇini's IV. 3. 127 will apply to township called *Ghoshā* also, *घोषघनमपि कर्तव्यम्*, (Bhattoji Dikshita). This leads us to the inference that townships or municipalities also had their corporate symbols or arms. Such arms have been recognised, e.g., in the Solgenca plain. *Plant, J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 526*. Now their technical name, *lakshapa*, is disclosed by the grammar.

<sup>2</sup> *सर्वे खानौतराधरे* § 42. With this S. III. 3. 42 should be read. The latter refers to *Samgha* as Pāṇini understood and defined it, a political *samgha*, a *gaṇa*.

<sup>3</sup> See the previous Sūtra III. 3. 41 : *निवामन्निमिदोऽपिद्विनामन्निवादिष्य* ॥

<sup>4</sup> *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, VI. 2. 94 (p. 559). Pāṇini's rule is about the proper names of *Nikāyas*, *संघादौ निनिनिवायदौ* :

## CHAPTER VI

### Republican Origin of Buddhist Samgha and Republics in Buddhist Literature (500-400 B.C.)

§ 42. The Buddha was born in a republican people. He had Samgha neighbours around him, and he grew up amongst them. He called the community which he founded "Bhikkhu Samgha," or 'the Republic of Bhikshus.' He, probably following his contemporary teachers, adopted the name as well as the constitution of the political Samgha in founding his religious Samgha; and this was a reason why his religion and monastic organisation lasted so long. From the words of the Buddha himself, as reported in the Pāli sūtras,<sup>1</sup> the historical connection between the political and religious Samgha-constitutions can be demonstrated. When the 'Chancellor of Magadha,' deputed by the King of Magadha, wanted to know the opinion of the Buddha, on behalf of his master, as to the advisability of invading the Vajjis (the Vrijis of Pāṇini)—the Licchavis and Videhas,<sup>2</sup> the Buddha addressed his reply (not to the Chancellor, but to his foremost disciple) in these words:—

"Have you heard, Ānanda, that the Vajjians often  
"hold full and frequent assemblies."

To this, Ānanda replied in the affirmative. The Buddha put such seven questions relating to the Constitution of the Vajjians, intended to be heard by the Chancellor. The

<sup>1</sup> *Dighanikāya, Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* Trans. adopted from Hays Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. II, pp. 79-85, Cf. S.B.E., Vol. XI, pp. 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> For details regarding them, see below.

verdict of the Buddha may be summed up in his own words as follows :—

- (1) "So long, Ānanda, as the Vajjians hold *full and frequent assemblies* :
- (2) "So long as they *meet together in concord and rise in concord and carry out Vajjian business in concord* (Vajjī-karapīyāni—Vajjian acts of state) :
- (3) "So long as they *enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians, as established in former days* :
- (4) "So long as they *honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajji-Elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words* :
- (5) "So long as *no women or girls belonging to them are detained among them by force or abduction* :  
[i.e., law and not force reigns] :
- (6) "So long as they *honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian Chhatiyas (sacred monuments) [i.e., follow the religion established]* :
- (7) "So long as the *rightful protection, defence and support shall be fully provided for the Arhants amongst them [i.e., follow the established practice and keep out Brahminic religious systems]* :  
"So long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper."

Hearing this, the Chancellor murmured 'the Vajjians cannot be overcome by the King of Magadha.' The only possible policy was to create disunion (mīthubhēda).

As soon as the Chancellor had taken leave of the Buddha, the Teacher called a meeting of the Bikkhusamgha in the Hall, and addressed them :

"I will teach you, O Mendicants, the seven conditions of 'the welfare (of a community).'"

And he repeated the very seven conditions (with necessary modifications) which were the features of the practice of the Vajjians and which were well-known, as testified to by Ānanda :

- (1) "So long as the Bhikkhus meet together in full and  
"frequent assemblies :
- (2) "So long as they meet together in  
"concord and rise in concord and carry out in  
"concord the duties of the Order (Samgha) :
- (3) "So long as the Bhikkhus shall establish nothing  
"that has not already been prescribed, and  
"abrogate nothing that has already been  
"established and act in accordance with the rules  
"of the Samgha now laid down :
- (4) "So long as the brethren honour and esteem and  
"revere and support the Elders, the Fathers  
"and the Leaders of the Samgha, and hold it a  
"point of duty to hearken to their words :
- (5) "So long as the brethren fall not under the influence  
"of that craving.....:
- (6) "So long as the brethren delight in a life of solitude :
- (7) "So long as the brethren so train their minds ...:

"So long the Bhikkhus may not be  
expected to decline but to prosper."

§ 44. The history of the birth of the Buddhist Samgha is a history of the birth of the Monastic Order in the world. This history, therefore, of the birth of the religious brotherhood of the Buddha from the constitutional womb of the Indian Republic is of interest not only to this country, but to the world at large.

It was a case of borrowing, no doubt, but, at the same time, there was an original idea behind it which only a great mind could conceive. The originality consisted in transferring the constitution of a political corporation to religion, and

conjuring up an organisation to perpetuate the being of that religion.

§ 45. The republics which engage the attention of Buddhist Literature were the states amongst whom the Buddha arose and lived. They covered the land to the east of the kingdoms of Kosala and Kāśāmbī and to the west of Āṅga, from the districts of Gorakhpur and Ballia to the district of Bhagalpur, to the north of Magadha and the south of the Himalayas. They were the States of:—

- (a) the Śākyaas, with their capital at Kapilavastu in the district of Gorakhpur including their close neighbours
- (b) the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma;
- (c) the Licchhavis, with their capital at Vaiśālī, modern Basāḍh, in the district of Muzaffarpur;
- (d) the Videhas, with their capital at Mithilā (in the district of Darbhanga) [the last two were conjointly called the Vṛjīs or Vājjis<sup>1</sup>];
- (e) the Mallas, who covered a large area to the south of the Śākyaas and the Vṛjīs, from the district of Gorakhpur to that of Patna, divided into two units, with their capitals at Kuśinagara (Kusinārā) and at Pāvā;
- (f) 'the Moriyas of Pippalivana;' and (g) 'the Bujja of Allakappa' who were minor communities<sup>2</sup> [they played no important part in the history of Buddhism; they were neighbours of the Mallas of Kuśinagara but their exact territories are not known<sup>3</sup>]; and

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Pandey tells me that the Thāras call the Aryan population of Champaran 'Bājīs.' [See now J. HOBS, vol. vi p. 261].

<sup>2</sup> For (a) to (g), see Mahāparinibbāna Suttaṃ, §§ VI. 21-27; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pp. ii, 172-90.

<sup>3</sup> *Buddhist India*, pp. 22-23; *Jātaka*, III. 157.

(h) the *Bhaggas* (*Bhargas*) who were neighbours of the kingdom of the *Vatsas* of *Kauśāmbī*.<sup>1</sup>

Politically, the most important of the group were the *Vṛjia* and the *Mallas*. The former are noticed both by *Pāṇini* and *Kaṇṭhiya*. The *Bhargas* were next-door neighbours of the *Vatsas* to the east, both according to the *Mahā-Bhārata* and the *Pāli* records (*ante* § 35, n.). Their seat was evidently a hill fortress. (*Simsamāra Hill*), somewhere in or about the district of *Mirzapur*. *Pāṇini* found them an independent *Janapada* or a political 'nation,' important enough to be placed at the head of the eastern communities as the *Yaudheyas* headed the *Punjab* list. It seems that in the latter days of the Buddha, they passed under the sway of their neighbour, the king of the *Vatsas*, whose son *Bodhi* was ruling over them, according to the *Jātaka* and the *Vinaya*.<sup>2</sup> They were yet a separate unit.

The *Śākyaas* were the community wherein the Buddha was born, being the son of the President of the *Śākya gaṇa*. They were under the suzerainty of the king of *Kosala*, and their independence was destroyed in the life-time of the Buddha by the king of *Kosala*. Their council seems to have been composed of 500 members.<sup>3</sup> The *Śākyaas* are said to have had a law that each citizen could have only one wife.<sup>4</sup>

§ 46 I cannot do better than quote here the description of the administration procedure of these republics as typified by that of the *Śākyaas*, so well summed up by *Rhys Davids*, the foremost authority on Buddhist literature. In view of the results of a special study of the republican organisation, I differ from that great scholar when he calls them 'clans.' The

<sup>1</sup> B. I., pp. 8, 9, 22.

<sup>2</sup> J. III. 167; V. 2. 137, 4. 179-188. ; BL. p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> See § 46, n.

<sup>4</sup> *Rockhill, Life of the Buddha*, ch. II. pp. 14-15.

evidence does not warrant our calling them 'clans.' Indian republics of the seventh and sixth centuries B. C., as we shall see in sequence, had long passed the tribal stage of society. They were states, *Ganas* and *Samghas*, though many of them very likely had a national or tribal basis, as every state, ancient or modern, must have.

"The administration and judicial business" [says Prof. Rhys Davids] "of the clan [correctly speaking, 'the state'] "was carried out in public assembly, at which young and old "were alike present, in their common Mote Hall (*Saṁhagara*)" "at Kapilavastu. It was at such a parliament, or palaver, that "King Pasenadi's proposition (B I., p. 11) was discussed. "When Ambaṭṭha goes to Kapilavastu on business, he goes to "the Mote Hall where the Sākīyas were then in session." And "it is to the Mote Hall of the Mallas that Ananda goes to "announce the death of the Buddha, they being then in session "there to consider that very matter."

"A single chief—how, and for what period chosen, we do "not know—was elected as office-holder, presiding over the "sessions, and, if no sessions were sitting, over the State. He "bore the title of *rāja*, which must have meant something like "the Roman consul, or the Greek archōn. We hear no- "where of such a triumvirate as bore corresponding office "among the Licchavis, nor of such acts of kingly sovereignty "as are ascribed to the real kings mentioned above. But we

<sup>1</sup> B I., p. 19

<sup>2</sup> [Skt. *Samahagara*, lit., the House of Communal Law.]

<sup>3</sup> Ambaṭṭha Suttanta, translated in "Dialogues of the Buddha," I. 112.

[I may quote the passage—"Once, Gotama, I had to go to Kapilavastu on some business or other of Pekkharasādi's, and went into the Sākya's Congress Hall. Now at that time there were a number of Sākya, old and young, seated in the hall on grand seats." The *Salita-vistara*, mentioning similar sessions of the Sākya, has the Sākya-gaṇa in session:—*एतदेवाकस्मिन् सतिपुत्तके मीमांसते राजा पुरोहितः..... एकाग्रयेन साके संख्यागारे निवसीयन्* (XII. p. 115 Bib. Ind. ed.) The *Sākya-gaṇa* probably had 600 members (XII). The significance of "Old and Young" members probably is that the Elders and ordinary members were both present.]

<sup>4</sup> M. P. S. 8.23.

"hear at one time" that Bhaddiya, a young cousin of the Buddha's was the *rāja*; and in another passage, Suddhodana, "the Buddha's father (who is elsewhere spoken of as a simple citizen, Suddhodana Sākiyan), is called the *rāja*."

§ 47 The Jātaka calls the Licchhavi rulers 'gana-

Licchhavi rulers' or republican rulers.<sup>1</sup> The constitution of the Licchhavis to which Professor Rhys Davids has alluded is detailed in a later document, the *Apṭha-kathā*.<sup>2</sup> It mentions three highest officers, the President (*Rājā*), the Vice-President (*Upa-Rājā*) and the Generalissimo (*Senāpati*). An early authority (Jātaka, I, p. 504) adds a fourth officer: the Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Bhaṇḍāgārikā*). There is no doubt that these were the four highest administrative officers and that they composed the cabinet or executive authority. The Jātaka says that the government was located in the city of Vaiśālī which had a system of triple fortifications. The rule (*rajjāp*) vested in the inhabitants (*vasantānap*), 7707 in number, all of whom were entitled to rule (*rājūnap*, 'kings'). They became Presidents (*rājāṇo*), Vice-Presidents (*Upa-rājāṇo*), Commanders-in-Chief (*Senā-patiṇo*) and Chancellors of the Exchequer.<sup>3</sup> What the Jātaka means to say is that the 7707 of the inhabitants, probably the foundation families, were the ruling class, that it is they who became (*honti*, 'become') the executive office-holders. The total population was much larger, divided in outer and inner citizens ('Vaiśaliāns'), 1,68,000 in number.<sup>4</sup> The rulers (*gana-rājās*) underwent the ceremony of consecration by anointing.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vin., 2, 181.

<sup>2</sup> Jātaka, IV, 148: '*Vaśālīnāṃ gāṇa-rājakulānāṃ abhinēda-pakkharānap*'

<sup>3</sup> Turnout, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VII (1838), p. 193, *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> एष निरुक्तान् २८६०० कारिका वसुधामा विव राज्ञां सप्तसहस्रानि वसुधामा विव च [...] राजानो वीति सत्तका; ये च प्रत्यक्षानो सत्तका सेनापतिनो सत्तका, सत्तका भण्डारिका. J., I, 504.

<sup>5</sup> Mahāvastu, Triśaṭkūṭya J., ed. Smart, I, pp. 256, 271 [MV and LV, being works of cir. 100 B.C., are not so old as the Pāli canon, but their tradition is old.]

§ 48. According to the *Attha-kathā* when the *Vaiśālīans* came to their House of Law (parliament), the *toṣaṇ* used to be sounded at their House of Law<sup>1</sup>. In the parliament of these rulers, they discussed not only matters political and military, but also agricultural and commercial.

A Buddhist book describes the *Leccchhavi gāṇa* in session appointing a *Mahattaka* or a distinguished member to be the envoy, charging him to deliver a message on behalf of the *Leccchhavis* of *Vaiśālī*, i.e., the *gāṇa* transacted business on behalf of the whole people.<sup>2</sup>

A parody of their constitution is thus given in another Buddhist book : "amongst them (the *Vaiśālīans*) the rule of "having respect for the high, the middle ones, the oldest, the "elders is not observed; every one considers himself to be "the *rājā*, 'I am the *rājā*, I am the *rājā*.' No one becomes a "follower of another." Evidently in their councils every member had an equal right of speech and voting; and every one wanted to be the next president.<sup>3</sup>

§ 49. The President was also the highest judicial authority. There was a Judicial Minister who could be even an outsider, a paid officer.<sup>4</sup> Liberty of the citizen was most jealously guarded. A citizen could not be held guilty unless he was considered so by the *Senāpati*, the *Upa-rājā* and the *Rājā*, separately and without dissent.

A careful record was kept of the decisions of the President on the 'rolls' (*Paveni-pattakāṇ*) in which the particulars of crime and punishment awarded to the citizens, found guilty, were entered. Preliminary enquiry into the case

<sup>1</sup> Turnour, J.A.S.B., VII., pp. 694-5.

<sup>2</sup> MV., i. 254. वैजालकाणां लिच्छिवीणां वचनेन.

<sup>3</sup> Lalitavistara, ch. iii., लीह-मज्झ-सङ्ग-संज्ञानुपासिता, एतेन एव मनसि चरं राजा चरं राजेति । न च कदाचिद्विषयमुपगच्छति ...

<sup>4</sup> Turnour, *ibid.*

was held in the Court of the Justices (*Vinichchaya-Mahāmāttas*), who evidently were the regular court for civil causes and ordinary offences. The Court of Appeal was presided over by "*Vohārikas*"—'Lawyer-Judges.' The High Court had its Judges called the *Sātra-dhara*s or 'Doctors of Law.' There was yet a council of Final Appeal, called the Court of the Eight: *Ashṭa-kulaka* (§ 50). Any of these successive Courts could pronounce a citizen innocent and acquit him.<sup>1</sup> And if all the Courts held him guilty, the matter was still subject to the decision of the members of the Executive Cabinet mentioned above.

§ 50. This description of criminal procedure of *Aṭṭha-kathā* is in keeping with the general procedure of republican-system of justice as preserved in Sanskrit literature. In the opinion of the author of the *Mahā-Bhārata*, criminal justice in a republic should be administered by experts through the President (*निचहः पण्डितैः कार्यः क्षिप्रमेव प्रधानतः*),<sup>2</sup> that the Elders of the Kula Court (= *Kulaka*) were not expected to connive at an offence. *Bhṛigu*, enumerating different judicial authorities, implies that in the case of a *gaṇa* the deciding body was called *Kulika* and also *Kula*.<sup>3</sup> *Kātyāyana* uses *Kula* in the sense of a jury.<sup>4</sup> The *Ashṭa-Kulaka* thus would signify a judicial council of eight members, and not, as heretofore interpreted, 'Representatives of eight clans.'

§ 51. The *Videhas* and the *Lichchhavis* were, according to Buddhist documents, united in a league and they were together called the *Samvaggi*s (lit., 'the *Vajji*-*ana* together').<sup>5</sup> The two *Vajji* republics,

<sup>1</sup> Turner, *J.A.S.B.*, VII, pp. 393-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Sānti P.*, Ch. 107, 27. See below, § 129.

<sup>3</sup> *Vitrantrodaya*, p. 11. See quotation in chapter on *Purāṇa* below, Ch. xxviii, § 255.

<sup>4</sup> *शिवपूजिः* वाङ् मतिपदः कुलकुलैरिषितम्, quoted in *V. M.*, p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Rhys Davids*, *Buddhist India*, p. 22; Turner, *J.A.S.B.*, VII, 293a.

<sup>6</sup> *Buddhist India*, p. 22.

however, were not confined to their own federation. The Līchchhavis once had formed a federation with their neighbours, the Mallas, according to a Jaina Sūtra.<sup>1</sup> The confederacy existed in the year when the Mahāvīra died (c. 545<sup>2</sup> or 527 B.C.). The Federal Council was composed of eighteen members, nine 'Līchchhakīs' and nine 'Mallakīs'.<sup>3</sup> The members of the Federal Council are designated 'Gaṇa Rājās.' Probably it was to a federal council of this class that the technical term Rājaka of Amarasimha (§§25, 47) originally applied. These 'eighteen confederate kings' as Dr. Jacobi makes them, are placed by the Jaina Sūtra, in the Kāśī-Kosala area. At the time of the death of the Mahāvīra, the empire of Kosala was called the Kāśī-Kosala.<sup>4</sup> The Jaina Sūtra is much younger in date than the Pāli Canon, and if the Jaina book has not made a mistake in its location, its description would imply that the Federal Council was in some sort of political alliance with the Kosalan monarchy, for there is no evidence of a Kosalan suzerainty. The republics were certainly on bad terms with Magadha, and Magadha was the deadly rival of Kosala; according to the Aṭṭha-kathā, the Vaiśālīans lost one great battle with Ajātaśatru, Emperor of Magadha. The leagues naturally were formed to oppose the great powers between whom they were situated.

§ 52. The composition of the Federal Council shows that the federal states had equal votes, that the federation was based on terms of equality. The Mallas were not so great a political power as the Līchchhavis, yet in the Federal Council both had evidently equal voice.

<sup>1</sup> *Kalpa-Sūtra*, 128.

<sup>2</sup> J. BOES, I. 103.

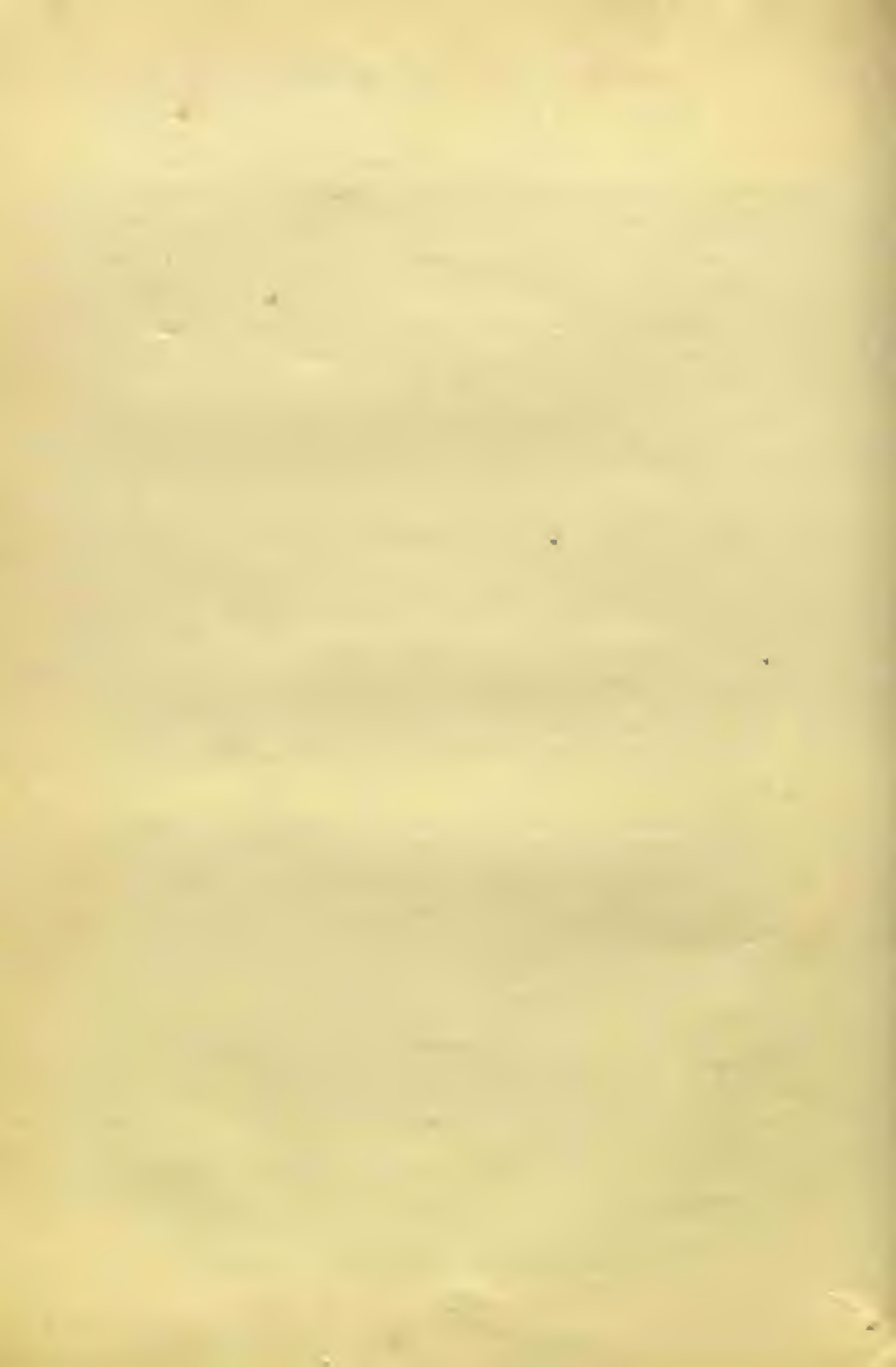
<sup>3</sup> S.B.E. XXII, p. 266.


<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Kāśī-Kosala*, Patañjali (Kishinoue), II. p. 290 (2nd ed.).

The Lichchhavis owing to their political importance and connection with the Buddha figure largely in Buddhist literature.<sup>1</sup> There are indications that the general description in the Mahā-Bhārata and elsewhere applied to them as much as to others. Their constitution was only a type, not an exception.

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<sup>1</sup> See further, § 54.





## CHAPTER VII

### Republics in the Arthashastra (325-300 B.C.)

§ 53 The Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya deals with the characteristics of *Samghas* and the Imperial policy towards them.<sup>1</sup> They were still important, although a decline had set in owing to the rise of large monarchies and Alexander's invasion, the latter having discredited small sovereignties and emphasized the importance of large States (§ 64). Kauṭilya divides *Samghas*, as we have already seen, into two classes. One of them was the class whose Consuls bore the title of *Rājā* or 'king.' As he contrasts them with the other class, he implies that the latter had no provision for this title and did not allow it. Such constitutions are known to have existed from the evidence of coins.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the former class whose rulers bore the title, Kauṭilya enumerates—

- (1) the *Lichchhivikas*,
- (2) the *Vrijikas*,
- (3) the *Mallakas*,
- (4) the *Madrakas*,
- (5) the *Kukuras*,
- (6) the *Kurus*,
- (7) the *Pāñchālas*, and 'others.'

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. XI, 376-79.

<sup>2</sup> See discussion below, ch. xvii., on the coins of the *Bhānnyas*, the *Yaudheyas*, the *Mālavas*, the *Arjunayanas*, etc.

The *Kāśikā*, in connection with rule V. 3. 114 of Pāṇini, points out that *Mallās* are not subject to the rule, because they are not 'military.'<sup>1</sup> There is therefore agreement between Kaṭilya and grammatical literature with regard to the character of the *Mallās*. As to the *Licchavis*, we know from Buddhist sources<sup>2</sup> that they called their Consul 'the *Rājā*.' Apparently, Kaṭilya, by mentioning the *Licchavis* separately, means by the term *Vṛjīs* the *Videhas* only. Pāṇini gives a special rule for the formation of *Madraka* and *Vṛjika*,<sup>3</sup> which forms we find in the *Arthashastra*. The *Kurus*, according to Buddhist records,<sup>4</sup> had become weak as a kingdom, in the time of the Buddha. According to the *Mahā Bhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and the earlier authorities,<sup>5</sup> the *Kurus* had been in earlier times under monarchy. Their adoption of republican constitution must, therefore, be dated after the Buddha and before Kaṭilya. The *Videhas* also had been in early (Vedic) times a monarchy. In the time of the Buddha, however, the *Videhas* had adopted republican constitution.<sup>6</sup> The *Videhas* are treated as a republic by Patañjali also.<sup>7</sup> (The *Pañchālas* in Buddhist books are found divided into two kingdoms. But Kaṭilya mentions them as a republic. Patañjali also finds them a republic.<sup>8</sup> The change in their constitution must have come after the death of the Buddha.) The *Uttara* (Northern) *Madrās*, according to the *Aitareya Brāhmana*, originally had a constitution where the whole country, as opposed to a king, was solemnized as the sovereign.<sup>9</sup> The other portion of the

<sup>1</sup> अणुशब्दो विपद्यते हि न, महा: p. 466.

<sup>2</sup> See above, § 37.

<sup>3</sup> IV. 2. 131, महाशब्दोऽन्यः.

<sup>4</sup> Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> The *Aitareya Brāhmana*, in giving illustrations of monarchical nations, cites the *Kurus* and the *Pañchālas*, Ch. VIII, 14.

<sup>6</sup> See above, § 31, n.

<sup>7</sup> Bk. VIII. जनपदा सत्तमकुसुम उदयमदा प्रति.....उपनिविशन्ते || १४॥ See below, Ch. X.

Madras, or the Madras proper, in the time of Kauṭilya, if not earlier, had the 'king'-consul constitution.

§ 54. The political history of the Licchavis is too well-known to be repeated here.<sup>1</sup> They were very powerful. They survived the Śaiśuṇākā and the Maurya empires and helped in building up the Gupta empire.<sup>2</sup> They founded a curious constitution in Nepal which we shall have occasion to discuss later.

The Mallas do not live so long. They disappear in the time of the Mauryas, or a little later,<sup>3</sup> as a republican community, though individual Malla families rise up now and then, in Tirhut and Nepal, up to the eleven centuries and even later.<sup>4</sup> The modern representatives of the Mallas are the Malla caste in the districts of Gorakhpur and Azamgarh<sup>5</sup>, generally given to trade. It is a common phenomenon in the career of Indian republics that when the republicans lost their political power they still retained their commercial intelligence and turned into traders.<sup>6</sup> The Pañchāla survived the Mauryas, for they are mentioned by Patanājali. But the Kurus as a state succumbed. The Kukuras, according to the Mahā-Bhārata, were a member of the Andhaka-Vṛishṇi league. Some of the members of the league apparently observed the 'king'-consul constitution, while others did not. The Kukuras are mentioned in inscriptions of Western India towards the close of the first century B.C.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As to their alleged foreign origin, the theories are hopelessly untenable; see discussion below, Ch. XXI.

<sup>2</sup> They do not figure in Kātyāyana or Patanājali.

<sup>3</sup> See Lévi, *Le Nepal*, II, pp. 210-213.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. H. Pandey, *J. B.O.S.*, 1937, pp. 262-65, on modern Mallas.

<sup>5</sup> Other examples are the Khatris of Sind and the Patah (the Xathroi of the Greeks), and the Aodras of the Patah who very likely represent the ancient Aśvāsas.

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 44, 60; see § 57, n.

Nation-in-arms  
Republics.

§ 55. The other class of Kauṭilya's<sup>1</sup> republics is illustrated by—

- (1) the Kāmbhojas,
- (2) the Surāshṭras,
- (3) the Kshatriyas,
- (4) the Śrenis, and 'others.'

This class, by implication, had no king-consul. The other chief feature of their constitution was that they emphasized on their citizens the duty to acquire military skill. In other words, they had a citizen army. Each state was a nation-in-arms. Conversely, the other class, where the 'king'-consul constitution obtained, probably had, like monarchs, a regular or hired (standing) army. The nation-in-arms class, however, did not become purely military, for their constitution also required their citizens to devote attention to industry and agriculture (vṛttīśāstrapajīvinah). Hence they were found rich as well as strong.

§ 56. The Kshudrakas and the Mālavas, who were the most prominent amongst these martial republics, are not mentioned by Kauṭilya. Probably they had already come under the imperial sway. The martial republics named in the Arthasāstra are headed by the Kāmbhojas. They were in eastern Afghanistan. They are mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions as a community next to the Gandhāras.<sup>2</sup> According to Yāska, their mother-tongue was Sanskrit with certain bases which seem to have been imported from the Iranian neighbours.<sup>3</sup> They are known to Pāṇini for he gives a rule<sup>4</sup> for the derivative to denote their king. This would indicate that Pāṇini is referring to a monarchy. But the special rule

<sup>1</sup> काण्वीय-सुवृद्ध-वर्षिष-संज्ञादयी वानप्रस्थीयनीविभः (AS, xi. 1.160, p. 376).

<sup>2</sup> See below, ch. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> II. 3, 4. क्षत्रिणैल्लिङ्गानां कर्माक्षिप्तेषु भाष्ये, कर्माणाः कर्मकर्मणाः कर्मनीयमोक्षा वा कर्मणः कर्मलोकी भवति विहारसंज्ञायैषु भाष्ये न च इति. Cf. the Persian root *shādan*, 'to go.' See J.R.A.S. 1911, 801.

<sup>4</sup> IV. 1. 175.

and the exceptional form of the derivative raise a doubt as to whether the 'rāṣṭrāj' of the Kāmbojas was a monarch or a consul. In the time of Kauṭilya, their constitution certainly did not admit of even a titular 'king.' The Bhōjas, as we shall see hereafter, were a class of non-monarchical rulers. 'Kāmbojas would literally mean 'Inferior Bhōjas.'

§ 57. The Surāśṭras (Surāśṭra, *lit.* 'good realm') were in Kathiawar. Their name still lives in modern Sorāṭha. They seem to have survived the Mauryan imperialism, as they figure in the inscriptions of Bala Śrī (about 58 B.C.) and in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (2nd century A. C.)

§ 58. The other two states—the Kshatriyas and the Śrenis—appear as neighbours in Sind in the records of the Macedonian writers. The Kshatriyas are called by them Xathroi. European scholars have taken it as a caste denomination; that it is a proper name of a political body is now disclosed by the Arthaśāstra. Ptolemy also mentions the nation or community Xathroi. Various terms have been used by Classical writers to denote what seems to be Agra-Śrenis or the First Śrenis. Apparently, the Śrenis were sub-divided into internal units, and the one which came in contact with Alexander was that of the "First

<sup>1</sup> Pāṇini spells it as Kāmboja, so does Yāska. But Yāska derives it from *bhuj*. The Rāmāyana (I. 55. 2) and the Arthaśāstra have Kāmboja and Rāṣṭrāj, respectively. The former indicates Iranian or Pāthān influence.

<sup>2</sup> *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 44. The dates based on my own theory of chronology and identification of Vikrama with Gannakpura Śātakarṇi Śālavāhana (J.B.O.R.S., I. 101; *Brahmin Empire* ('Exposé', Poona, 1914); *Modern Review*, 1914. The date assigned by other scholars to this inscription is over a century later.

<sup>3</sup> *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Arrian, Bk. VI. ch. XV.

<sup>5</sup> See McDowell, *Ancient India, Its Invasion by Alexander the Great*, p. 307. The forms are Agāsaka, Agāsaka, Agāsaka, Agāsaka etc.

*Śrenis*.<sup>1</sup> Such divisions seem to have existed among the Yaudheyas, whose coins, marked "2" and "3," have been found.<sup>2</sup>

The *Xathroi* or the *Kshatriyas* seem to survive in the numerous caste called the *Sindhi Khattris* (the *Khattris* of Sindh), a handsome race occupying the neighbourhood of the site indicated in the Greek writers as the territory of the *Xathroi*. The *Khattris* of the Punjab may also represent them.

§ 59. I may here point out that the translator of the *Artha-Sāstra* has fallen into an error in translating the passage '*Kāmbhoja-Surāshtra-Kshatriya-Śreny-ādriyah*' as "the corporations of warriors (*Kshatriya Śreni*) of *Kāmbhoja* "and *Surāshtra* and other countries"<sup>3</sup> The rendering is against grammar; '*ādriyah*,' 'and others,' excludes the possibility of a description coming in the group just preceding. If *Kāmbhoja* is a proper name, the rest, up to '*ādriyah*,' must be proper names. The description really comes after the enumeration closed with '*ādriyah*,' in *vārtā-śāstropajiveṇā*. Both in view of our identification and grammatical considerations, the translation is unacceptable. There is yet another error to be avoided, viz., taking '*Śreni*' here to mean a guild. If *vārtā* (industry and agriculture) refers to alleged guilds (*Śrenis*), it ought to have been placed after, not before, *śāstrot*, as *Śreni* is the last, coming after *Kshatriya*, in the group.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is, however, not impossible that *Agastrot* of Alexander has been abbreviated as *Śreni* by Kautilya.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, *Coin of Ancient India*, p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> Shama Sastri, *Kautilya's Artha-Sāstra*, p. 458.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the expression *Sāstra-Vārtā* used by Varāha Mihira (संज्ञा सरसवृद्धिर्वाच्ये कामादीर्वाच्येऽप्यस्यैव, B. I. S., v. 39) where the two characteristics have to be taken as applying to the same communities. See also §§ 32, 33 above.

## CHAPTER VIII

### Hindu Republics in Greek Writers

(C. 325 B.C.)

§ 60. The historians of Alexander's campaign have described a number of states as 'free,' 'autonomous,' or 'independent,' by which they mean republican. McCrindle recognises the significance of the expression 'independent' but as he was ignorant of the fact of Indian republics, he thought that it referred to 'the Indian village system': "*Each of its rural units they (Greeks) took to be an independent republic.*"<sup>1</sup> But the Greeks never mistook a village *panchayat* for a republic; they treat the communities as states and not as village-units. They fought them, they negotiated treaties with them, they recorded details of their constitutions; the Greeks knew them too well to make a mistake of the sort suggested by McCrindle. Then, the Greeks may be trusted for their discrimination in matters constitutional. There cannot be any room for doubt or controversy if we see what Megasthenes, the Greek envoy at the court of Chandragupta Maurya has to say. He was not a passing raider like Alexander's companions but an observer of several years. He divides the country into two forms of government—monarchical and republican:—

*"They...report every thing to the king where the people have a king, and to the magistrates where the people are self-governed."*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 11b, n.

<sup>2</sup> McCrindle, *Megasthenes*, Art. XII. Cf. also: "The councillors of state...who advise the king, or the magistrates of self-governed cities, in the management of public affairs..." *Ibid.*, p. 212.

§ 61. The republican states noted by the Greek historians may be briefly surveyed here.

The Greek writers describe the *Kathaians* as one of the most powerful 'nations' of India. They were to the east of the Hydraotes or Ravi, in the area now covered by the districts of Lahore and Amritsar. Their capital was *Sankala*. "*The Kathaians themselves enjoyed the highest reputation for courage and skill in the art of war.*"<sup>1</sup> They along with some other republican Indians had shortly before their battle with Alexander defeated both King Poros and the King of the *Abhisāras*. The *Kathaians* are described to have formed what in Hindu tactics is called a '*śakata-vyūha*' or the 'waggon-formation' against Alexander, which presented a great difficulty to his soldiers. They fought very bravely and did not submit, although they were tremendously outnumbered.<sup>2</sup> Their men and women married by choice, and their women observed the practice of *Sati*. According to Strabo, amongst them "*the handsomest man is chosen as king.*"<sup>3</sup>

The '*Kathaians*' have been restored by some scholars into the Sanskrit '*Kshatriyas*'.<sup>4</sup> This restoration is untenable. First of all the forms of words which the Greek writers give are based on Sanskrit pronunciation, and *Katha* would be a Prakritic form, and, therefore, an exception. When the whole country (Punjab) used Sanskrit forms, it is unreasonable to take *Kathai* as based on a Prākṛita form. Then, it is questionable whether even from the Prākṛita of *Kshatriya* we would get *Kathai*; we would get some word like *Khattiya*,

<sup>1</sup> See Arrian, *Anabasis*, V. 22, II A., p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian has a tendency to exaggerate the number of the Indians and their casualties, to glorify Alexander. His figures should be always compared with those given by Curtius and Diodorus.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, XV. 39. See McCrindle, *Antient India as described by Classical Writers*, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 347.

*Excellent system of internal government; for the multitude was "governed by the aristocracy, who exercised their authority "with justice and moderation" (Arrian, Bk. V. 25).<sup>1</sup> The description tallies with Kautilya's *Vartihgastropajisnah*. They were prosperous by agriculture and kept themselves ready for war, fully depending on their own sword. It is unfortunate that the state has been left unnamed. Actual government vested in what the Greeks called an aristocracy (But their parliament consisted of five thousand representatives.<sup>2</sup> The find-spot of Yaudheya coins suggests that this unnamed state on the Beas was probably of the Yaudheyas. Each member of parliament supplied one elephant to the state army) These Indians according to Arrian (V. 25), had elephants in greater number and of superior size and courage. As Alexander himself put it, the Macedonians had been "wont to fight only against small numbers,"<sup>3</sup> "now "for the first time" they had to face really large armies. And they refused to move an inch forward amongst the nations whose very name, according to Alexander, filled his soldiers with terror.<sup>4</sup> There was this unnamed Republic which covered the land on the other side of the Beas. There was also the great army of the Nanda waiting to give reception to the Macedonian, but the immediate cause of alarm was the prospect of meeting the republic beyond the river. Alexander's army "now began to lose heart" and "they began to hold conferences" where people "positively asserted that they would follow no further."<sup>5</sup> It was from the doors of the*

<sup>1</sup> McCrindle, *I. I. by Alexander*, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> "all the country beyond Hispania is allowed to be very fertile..... They mention also an aristocratical form of government consisting of five thousand Counsellors, each of whom furnishes the State with an elephant" Strabo, XV. 37 (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 45.)

<sup>3</sup> *II. I.* p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> McCrindle, *II. I.* p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> Arrian, V. 25. See McCrindle, *I. I. by Alexander*, p. 121.

unnamed republic that the campaign of Alexander assumed the form of retreat.

The large number of the members of their council is comparable with the number of the *Lichchhavi-gana* (§ 47).

§ 55. 'During this retreat Alexander came across a number of republics. In fact, all the States he met on his way back, down the Indus and up to the Indian frontier in Baluchistan,

*Kahndrakas and  
Mālavas, and Sibis*

were republican. The most powerful amongst them were the *Kahndrakas* and the *Mālavas*.<sup>1</sup> They are spelt by the Greeks as *Oxydrakai* and *Malloi* respectively. They were on the Hydaspes, by which the Greeks apparently mean the passage of the Jhelum after its unity with the Chenab. 'The two states formed one league.' Arrian (VI. 4) says that they were the most numerous and warlike of the Indian 'nations' in those parts. "Alexander first reached the nation called the Malloi." Near the Malloi there were their republican friends called the *Siboi*,<sup>2</sup> whom the Jātakas and Patanjali know as the *Sivis* and the *Śaibyas*.<sup>3</sup> The Malloi are called a race of independent Indians (Arrian, VI. 6); their cities were along the Chenab and their capital was near the Ravi. It was in the siege of the capital or one of the cities of the Malloi that Alexander nearly lost his life. Owing to the unity of the league, the Greek writers could not decide whether Alexander's narrow escape relates to the city of the Malloi or to that of the *Oxydrakai*. The strength of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *Kshatriya-dvandra* of the Kaśka on P. IV. 2. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius, IX. 4. There was no king amongst them, only the citizens filled the highest offices (Diodorus, XVII. 96).

<sup>3</sup> J. VI. 486; Kishore, II. 282. The Jātakas find them connected with Bortra (IV. 491), i.e., they then occupied the same locality where the Greeks encountered them. In the age of the Jātakas they had been monarchical. For their republican coin, and subsequent migration, see § 160 below. Patanjali treats *Śibi* as the name of a country or state (*viśaya*).

army as given by Curtius, was 1,00,000. "The Macedonians lost their heart at the prospect of meeting this army." "When the Macedonians found that they had still on hand a fresh war in which the most warlike nations in all India would be their antagonists, they were struck with an unexpected terror, and began again to upbraid the king in the language of sedition."<sup>1</sup> These Indians were regarded by the soldiers as "fierce nations" who would not let them proceed without drawing their blood. The fear of the Macedonians was well justified and is attested by the account of the personal calamity of Alexander and the lamentations which followed (IIA, pp. 241-2).

§ 66 The Greek writers with their palpable desire to magnify the glory of Alexander<sup>2</sup> would make us believe that the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas were crushed and annihilated by Alexander. But Patañjali discloses a different story. The former mentions the league as living, and one of them, the Kshudrakas, being victorious.<sup>3</sup> The Macedonian writers themselves describe and admit their existing importance after the war. The two 'nations' sent "hundred ambassadors" who "all rode in chariots and were men of uncommon stature and of a very dignified bearing. Their robes were of linen embroidered with in-wrought gold and purple." "The gods, they said, were the authors of their submission and not fear." They were proud of their "liberty which for so many ages they had preserved inviolate." Alexander who was very vindictive against all those who had opposed

<sup>1</sup> Curtius, Bk. IX, Ch. IV; McCrindle, *J. I. by Alexander*, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> "Many fictions also have been recorded by historians concerning this accident, and Fame, retaining them from the original inventors, has preserved them to our own day, nor will she cease to transmit the falsehoods to one generation after another." Attian, Bk. VI, Ch. 11.

"Fame is never brought to a closeness in which facts can be seen as they are. They are all magnified when she transmits them. Even our [Alexander's] own glory, though resting on a solid basis, is more indebted for its greatness to rampart than to reality." McCrindle, *J. I. by Alexander*, p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> पताञ्जलिः सदकैर्जितम्. Patañjali on P. V, 3, 52; Kielhorn, II, p. 412.

him, in spite of the personal suffering to which he had been subjected by these opponents, treated the ambassadors with uncommon hospitality. "He gave orders for the preparation of a splendid banquet to which he invited the ambassadors." ... "Here a hundred couches of gold had been placed at a small distance of each other, and these were hung round with tapestry curtains which glittered with gold and purple" (Curtius, Bk. IX. Ch. 7).<sup>1</sup> Alexander entertained them with shows at which wine flowed. And the "ambassadors were dismissed to their several homes." (Ch. 8).<sup>2</sup> All this does not read like the description of a crushed enemy, but rather of one whose subordinate alliance was welcomed by Alexander after he had tested their valour. Alexander had not only to secure his rear in his retreat but had also to pacify and render confident the 'seditions' Macedonians.

§ 67. That they existed before the time of Kātyāyana as a league is proved by his *cārtika* and the comments of Patañjali on Pāṇini *Khayḍikāḍibhyaścho* (IV.2. 45). The league did not exist in the time of Pāṇini as he does not provide a form for their united army. Kātyāyana supplied this, and removed what he found in his time a deficiency. Their united names did exist in the Gaṇapāṭha as it was found by Patañjali, for Patañjali says, "*Kṣudraka-Mālava-Sabdah Khayḍikāḍishu paśhyate*," "*in the Khayḍikā group 'Kṣudraka-Mālava' expression is read (found)*." Patañjali quotes an old verse which holds that the Kṣudraka-Mālava is not a *gotra* or tribal expression. It also gives a rule of Āpīśali which the author of the verse considers applicable to the Kṣudraka-Mālava but the rule itself does not know them.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> McCrindle, *II A* by Alexander, pp. 248-51.

<sup>2</sup> Weber (Hil., p. 223 n.) misunderstood the whole discussion and put the cart before the horse when he says that Āpīśali regarded them as united and that therefore his successor Pāṇini lived after the union i.e., after Alexander. But both Kātyāyana and Patañjali are supplying the very want which arises on account of Pāṇini's rule—a rule



"Oxydrakai came the leading men of their cities and their 'provincial governors'" They were "entrusted with full powers 'to conclude a treaty.'" The representatives of the Malloi are reported to have said that "they were attached more than others to freedom and autonomy, and their freedom had been 'preserved intact from the time of Dionysius'" (by whom the Greeks probably meant Balarāma).

§ 69. It may be noted that the good features and fine, tall physique of these free Indians are particularly noticed by the Macedonian writers. The point is important on the question of the ethnology of Indian republics which we shall consider later (Ch. xxi).

(The Mālavas were apparently on the lower course of the Jhelum after its unity with the Chenab, while the Kshudrakas occupied the higher regions.)

§ 70 Alexander met in the neighbourhood of the last two republics the Agsinae,<sup>4</sup> who had mustered an army, if we believe Diodorus, of 40,000 foot and 3,000 horse. "They harried their narrow streets, fought with great vigour, so that Alexander 'in pressing the attack lost a few Macedonians.'"

অসিনা প্রায়শঃপ্রায়ঃ পূর্বদিকিঃ তুঙ্গবর্মণঃ বাসন্তি বসন্তি । অসু খাঁল গোবাহুল্য ন লক্ষ্যেণবসন্তি ।  
লক্ষ্যবসন্তি বাসন্তি । অসুখাঁল লক্ষ্যবর্মণঃ সর্বত্র বসন্তি । প্রায়শঃ প্রায়ঃপ্রায়ঃ । অসু খাঁল প্রায়শঃপ্রায়ঃ  
লক্ষ্যবর্মণঃ লক্ষ্যবসন্তি । অসু খাঁল লক্ষ্যবর্মণঃ সর্বত্র বাসন্তি । অসু খাঁল লক্ষ্যবর্মণঃ লক্ষ্যবসন্তি ।  
বসন্তি । অসু খাঁল লক্ষ্যবর্মণঃ ।

অসুখাঁল লক্ষ্যবর্মণঃ লক্ষ্যবসন্তি ।

অসুখাঁল লক্ষ্যবর্মণঃ লক্ষ্যবসন্তি । অসুখাঁল লক্ষ্যবর্মণঃ লক্ষ্যবসন্তি । অসুখাঁল লক্ষ্যবর্মণঃ লক্ষ্যবসন্তি ।

—Kishore, vol. II, pp. 280-1.

<sup>1</sup> Arrian, Bk. VI, Ch. 14. McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> See the view of V. Smith on the location, J. R. A. S., 1903, p. 686.

<sup>4</sup> On the identification of this name see ante § 59.

<sup>5</sup> Diodorus, Bk. XVII, Ch. 95. McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 285.

According to Curtius when these brave fellows could not further resist the odds, they made, what we know now as Rājput *Jauhar*, of their wives and children into the flames by setting fire to their houses.<sup>1</sup>

§71 European scholars have proposed their identification with the Ārjunāyanas.<sup>2</sup> But this is unacceptable on philological grounds. The name is a composite of two words, *Agra* and *Śrepi*. And the main word is found in Kautilya in the list of republics which did not call their president Rājān and which were martial.<sup>3</sup> There the form *Śrepi* only appears; the member *Agra* shows that there were probably more than one unit in the *Śrepi* (§ 58).

§72. The next republic mentioned by the Greeks was that of the Ambashphas, spelt as *Sambastoi* and *Abastanoi*.<sup>4</sup> "They were a people inferior to none in India, either for numbers or for bravery." Their form of government was "democratic." Their army consisted of 60,000 foot, 6,000 cavalry and 500 chariots. "They had elected three generals renowned for their valour and military skill."<sup>5</sup>

Alexander made peace with them having received fifty of the foremost citizens who had come as ambassadors "under the belief that they would be treated with all proper courtesy." It is stated by Diodorus that the embassy was sent on the Ambashphas' having "adopted the advice of their elders" "not to fight." This probably indicates that their democratic constitution allowed an Upper House, of Elders.

<sup>1</sup> Curtius, BK IX, Ch. 4, McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 267. At that time the Ārjunāyana state does not appear to have existed. It is unknown up to Patāli, and to the Malā-Bhāta which unless all other republican peoples of the locality we have been dealing with (See *Sakayavamsa* LI, 14-15).

<sup>3</sup> See discussion above § 63.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XVII, 192, McCrindle, *Alexander*, 242.

<sup>5</sup> Curtius, BK IX, Ch. 8, McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 262.

§ 73. The Ambashthas as a political community are mentioned by Patañjali and the Mahā-Bhārata.<sup>1</sup> The Purāṇas say that Ambashtha of the House of Aila founded a dynasty in the Punjab.<sup>2</sup> The Purāṇas in giving the early account know them as a monarchical people. The change in their constitution thus was from monarchy to republic like the change in that of the Śibis (§ 65 n.) The Purāṇas say the same about the Yaudheyas, that they too, along with the Ambashthas, were monarchical. But the later monumental history of the Yaudheyas is the history of a republican people. The Purāṇic data therefore must refer to the origins.<sup>3</sup>

§ 74. The next "independent nation" was the Xathroi. This restored in Sanskrit will be *Kshattriya*. *Kshattriyas*. As I have said above, they are identical with the republic which bore the proper name '*Kshattriya*' as in the Artha-Śāstra. Kauṭilya places them together with the Śrenis and here also we find the Śrenis as neighbours to the *Kshattriyas*. As already suggested, the *Sindhi Khattri* caste, seem to be their modern representative. According to the division of Kauṭilya they did not have a king consul.<sup>4</sup>

§ 75. The Ossadioi were also an 'independent nation' according to Arrian.<sup>5</sup> No other writer mentions them. Their proposed identification with the Yaudheyas (by Cunningham)<sup>6</sup> is untenable on

<sup>1</sup> On Pāṇini, IV. 1. 170; cf. Kāśikā, pp. 292-3. Patañjali treats *Ambashtha* as the name of a country or state, and its inhabitants he calls *Ambashthas*.

*Saṁhitā*, Ch. XXXII, Verses 7-9, where they are placed along with the Mālavās. See also Pāṇini VIII. 3. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Pargiter, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 277.

<sup>3</sup> The people who were to the south of the Ambashthas are called *Śādras* by the Greek writers. (McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 293). These Sindhi people are identified by Lassen (*Ind. Alt.* II, 144, 177) with *Śādras*. But the form brings it nearer the *S'ādras* [*Saudhāyas*] of the *Gp.* on P. IV. 2. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *AS.*, XI, p. 376.

<sup>5</sup> Arrian, Bk. VI. Ch. 15; McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 156; Strabo, Bk. XV. Ch. 34.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV., p. 140.

philological grounds. They seem to be, as suggested by V. de Saint-Martin (McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 156, n.), identical with the *Vasātis* of the *Mahā-Bhārata* (*Sabha*, III. 15) who appear there as neighbours of the *Kshudrakas* and the *Mālavas* and in a group commencing with the *Ambashthas*. *Kātyāyana* and *Patanjali* mention the 'country of the *Vasātis*' along with that of the *Śibis* (on P. IV. 2. 52). The *Ganapāṭha* (on P. IV. 2. 53) places them in the group commencing with the republican *Rājanyas* (§ 160).

§ 76 It is not certain whether the next state had a regal or popular constitution. Alexander's companions admired their constitution and laws. "They regard the excessive pursuit of any art, as war for instance and the like, as wickedness," (Strabo, XV. 34). The realm was reported to be the most opulent in India. The citizens took their meals in common, a practice also mentioned in the *Atharva Veda*.<sup>1</sup> They did not recognise the institution of slavery (Strabo, XV. 34). It is possible to recover the name of this free people from our literature. The identification, proposed by Lassen,<sup>2</sup> with the *Mushikas* cannot stand. The *Mushikas* were below the *Sahya* or the *Vindhya*.<sup>3</sup> *Mousikānasa* seems to stand for what we have in the *Kāśikā* (p. 313, on P. IV. 2. 80) as *Muchukarṇa* to denote

<sup>1</sup> McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> लासकेन हिमिनोऽपि विहीतं संराज्यं; संप्रसारितः । अन्यो यन्मते युद्धं वदेत् एतं सौमित्राद्यः ।

सैन्यसङ्गमोऽपि ॥ समानो प्रजा यश्चरति सः समाने वीर्ये सद्यो दृश्यते ।..... ३-११३-६३

"Following your leader, of (the same) mind, do ye not hold yourselves apart?"  
"Do ye come hither co-operating, going along the same wagon-pole, speaking agreeably  
"to one another! I render you of the same aim, of the same mind."

"Identical shall be your drink, in common shall be your  
"share of food." I yoke you together in the same team....."

—Bloomfield, *S. B. E.* Vol. xlii, p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> McCrindle, *Id.*, p. 157 n.

<sup>4</sup> Jayawant, *Rathigupta's Inscription of the Emperor Kharrusha*, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. IV, p. 376.

the proper name of a country (*Mauchakarpika*). The spelling of the word is corrupt in the printed Gaṇapāṭha, but the Kāśikā reading is supported by Vardhamāna in his Gaṇa-Ratna-Mahodadhī<sup>1</sup> (IV 285) who gives it on the authority of Śakaṅgaja. Another reading seems to have been *Muchikarpa*<sup>2</sup> (corrupt *Suchikarpa*, G. R. M., p. 174).

[The neighbouring states of Sambas and the Presti (probably the Prasthalas of the Mahā-Bhārata<sup>3</sup>) are also described as kingdoms.]

§ 76A. The city of 'the nation called Brachmanoi' (Arrian, VI. 16; Diodorus, XVII. CII), also mentioned as the 'country of the Brachmanas' (Dio. XVII. CIII) was next reduced by Alexander. This seems to have been identical with what Patañjali calls *Brāhmaṇako nāma Janapadaḥ* (II. p. 298) 'the country (state) called *Brāhmaṇaka*.' *Janapada* here is in the same sense as in Pāṇini and on the coins, i.e. a politically self-contained country or a state. The Greek idea of the identity of tribe and state is so strong that on account of the existence of a state the citizens are turned into a tribe as in the cases of all other independent cities and states in the Punjab and Sind, while Indian authorities, contemporary with the states in question, treat their names as derived from 'countries', e.g. Pāṇini (IV I. 168-177). In other words, the Indian view is territorial, not tribal.

This little republic showed great spirit and patriotism, and was especially marked down for revenge by Alexander. 'These philosophers,' says Plutarch in the biography of Alexander (LIX), referring to the city of the Brahmins (McCrindle, *I.L.A.*, p. 306) 'gave him no less trouble than the

<sup>1</sup> Ed. by Dharmapala, 1898 (Allahabad), p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> The Greeks were evidently rendering *Mauchikarpa*. The change of *ch* into *s* is regular in their renderings.

<sup>3</sup> *Siddhāntam*, Ch. XIV.

'mercenaries, because they reviled the princes who declared for him and encouraged the free states to revolt from his authority. On this account he hanged many of them.'

§ 77. To the south of the above there was the state of Patala in the delta of the Indus. Before Alexander arrived, the whole community had migrated to avoid submission. This preference for migration to submission was a settled practice amongst smaller Indian republics. The Vṛishnis, according to the Jātakas and the Mahā-Bhārata, left Mathurā and went to Dvārakā when pressed by Jarāsandha. The movements of the Śibis from the Punjab to Rajputana and of the Mālavās from the Punjab to Malwa were probably results of similar circumstances. In the constitution of Patala their ruler was called *Moeres*.<sup>1</sup> It is evidently identical with the derivative of *Mura* of the Gaṇapāṭha (P. IV. 1. 151), which Vardhamāna in his Gaṇa-Ratna-Mahodadhi (III. 209) takes as a ruler designation. Curtius treats him as a monarch, a confusion which seems to have been occasionally made by these writers. Diodorus, however, gives the constitution of the state in these words: "*A city of great note with a political constitution drawn on the same line as the Spartan; for in this community the command in war rested in two hereditary kings of two different houses while a Council of Elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority.*"<sup>2</sup>

The Patala of the Macedonians has been identified with Haidarabad (Sind), whose ancient name is still remembered as *Potalpur*.<sup>3</sup> It seems to be the Pātāna of the Gaṇapāṭha (on P. IV. 1. 14) and the Pātānaprastha 'a Vāhika town' of Patañjali (P. V. 2. 104).

<sup>1</sup> Curtius, bk. IX, Ch. 8. McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 226, Diodorus, bk. xvii, Ch. cix.

<sup>3</sup> McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 356.

With Patnala the chapter of Hindu states closes in the history of Alexander. There were some minor communities on the frontier of Baluchistan which it would not be accurate to describe as Indian.

§ 78. Some of the states treated ambiguously by the  
States ambiguously  
described Greeks were very likely Samghas. We have already seen a few of this class. The state of *Phrygela* is probably another of them.<sup>1</sup> The name has been taken by scholars to be identical with Sanskrit *Bhagala*, in view of the Ganapāṭha's *Bhagala*<sup>2</sup> which comes along with the republican Trigartas. Alexander's *Phrygela*s occupied the same region. Another such state was that of the *Glausai* or *Glaukanikai*<sup>3</sup> (Arrian) who appear to be republican. They are identical with the *Glauchakayana*kas of the Kāśikā.<sup>4</sup>

The major portion of the Punjab and Sind which came under the survey of the Greek writers, shows only two or three monarchies, the important ones of which were the kingdoms of Poros and the Abhisātas. Otherwise the whole country was republican. This is also evident from Plutarch's (LX) account about Poros.<sup>5</sup> "Alexander then not only reinstated Poros in his kingdom with the title of Satrap, but added a large province to it, subduing the inhabitants whose form of government was the republican."<sup>6</sup>

§ 79. Alexander's raid and retreat did not cover the whole of the Punjab. There was still the valley of the Sutlej and

<sup>1</sup> McCrindle, *Alexander*, pp. 121, 241, 281.

<sup>2</sup> On P. IV § 80.

<sup>3</sup> McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 411. *Glaukanikos* according to Aristotomus, *Glauchai* according to Ptolemy.

<sup>4</sup> On P. IV § 80.

<sup>5</sup> Not to be identified with *Paurava*, but with the derivative of *Puro* of the *Ganapāṭha* on Pāṇi IV. 1. 151 which is given in the list of the Punjab and Sind ruling designations. Consult also Varshamāna (G. R. R.) on the word.

<sup>6</sup> McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 306.

that of the Beas in the Vāhika country to be traversed. The republics in those regions are to be recovered only from Indian literature. The *Vandheyas* and the *Arattas* were in those regions, and so were also probably some of the republics mentioned in the *Kāśikā* which draws on ancient literature, e.g., the *Śaṅgaṇḍas*, the *Gopālavas*, the *Kaṇḍābhṛīas* (*Kāśikā*, P. V. 3. 114, p. 456).

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## CHAPTER IX

### Constitutional Survey of the Hindu Republics in Greek Writers.

§ 80. In the above survey it would have been noticed that we have various constitutions. This shows that the constitutions were adjusted to the particular needs and circumstances of the people composing the states. We have for instance, the democracy of the Ambashthas. The democracy of the Ambashthas had a Second House composed of elected elders. They elected their generals also. Apparently every man in the community had direct franchise, the Greeks calling the constitution a democracy.

§ 81. Then we have the Kahudrakas and Mālavas who had no 'king' council, as they sent 100 or 150 representatives to negotiate the treaty of peace. Evidently their constitution would not allow power to vest in one man or a small body of men. It is noteworthy that the two armies elected a common general.

§ 82. Passing to the constitution of the Katharians or the Kathas, we find an elected 'king.' Elected 'king' President In this state children were born to their parents as citizens first and individuals afterwards, the state deciding as to which of the prospective citizens were perfect in 'limbs and features' and which of them should be allowed to grow into manhood. (Diodorus, XCI). The Saubhāta constitution was similar. In these states, man was really a political animal. The individual existed for the state. To secure the life of the group, the individual sacrificed himself

and his sentiments as father and mother. Probably it was due to this law that the Kāṭha philosophers glorified a child (Nachiketas), offered to Death by his father, as attaining immortality.

The constitution, like that of Patala, which provided for the election of a 'king' consul, was what Kauṣilya calls a Rājāśābdin Saṃgha, a republic which recognized the title of Rājani.<sup>1</sup> Such elected 'kings' also obtained amongst the Lichchavis. The elected king was not necessarily the leader of the army. Amongst the Lichchavis, the leadership of the army vested in another elected chief called Senāpati (General). An elected 'king' president was the feature of the Śākyan constitution as well.

§ 83 In the constitution of the Patalas the 'council of elders' ruled. They had two so-called *Second Chamber* 'kings,' hereditary in two families, for the purposes of command in war only. Hereditary 'royal' families in republican bodies are also mentioned in the Mahā-Bhārata.<sup>2</sup> The Patala 'kings' were responsible to the Council which in turn was probably elected by the whole community, it being a democracy. Here we have in the Patala constitution a mixture of aristocracy and democracy.

<sup>1</sup> It was probably a constitution of this sort which prevailed amongst the Kāpiśādas, a state whose coins were struck in the name of the king and the political community. Their king is always mentioned there as 'Anaghabhāta', 'Of unfailing prosperity,' and the same appellation appears for centuries (150 B.C. to 100 A.D.). This was an official title, and not a personal name (as wrongly interpreted by numismatists V. Smith, *OCIM*, Vol. I, pp. 161, 167). The leaders of the Gauda of the Kauliṇḍas (spelt also as Kauliṇḍa) are mentioned by V. Mihira, *Br. S.* IV 24, (कौलिन्दस्य सभ्यसुखाय); xiv, 30, 25. Ptolemy has Kulindrina; the *Pichan P.*, Kulindā and the *Māriampore P.*, Kauliṇḍa. Cunningham, *CAL*, 71. Their mine are found between Ambala and Saharspur. Their proposed identification with 'Kosata' [which ought to be *Kosani*] of the Simla hills (A.S.R., XIV, p. 126) is doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, XIV below.

The ultimate political authority in all these cases rested with the *Gaṇa* or *Samgha*.

§ 84. As to the executive authority in these republics, it was in some constitutions delegated to a *Executive authority* Second Chamber or the House of Elders, while in others there are indications that it remained with the general *Gaṇa* or Parliament. According to the Greek writers the Council of Elders at Patala had the supreme authority, and the Ambashthas listened to the advice of their Elders. The *Mahā-Bhārata* says that the chief difficulty in the *Gaṇa* constitution is to keep a resolution of theirs secret, because their number is large. It is therefore urged that the matters of policy (*mantra*) should not be discussed by the whole *Gaṇa* and that the state policy should remain in the hands of the Leaders.<sup>1</sup> One set of the coins of the Yaudheyas is struck in the name of the *Mantra-dhara*s and the *Gaṇa*, while other coins are struck simply in the name of the *Gaṇa*. *Mantra-dhara*s mean the council which is vested with the authority of *mantra* or policy. The officers called the chiefs or leaders of the *Gaṇa* thus formed the Executive Body or the Cabinet. The Elders formed another body. They were like a *Second House*. They had varying powers according to individual constitutions. Amongst the *Patalas*; they were for all purposes the *Government*. In the *Ambashtha Samgha* they were not so. They were like the *Vṛiddhas* mentioned in the *Mahā-Bhārata* who advised on matters of mutual subordination and correct dealings, etc. (ch. xiv). The *Vṛiddhas* or *Elders* were not necessarily people old in age, though primarily age might have been the qualification. The *Mahā-Bhārata* has the expression '*Elders by knowledge*,' i.e., by merit. Evidently one was elected an elder on merit.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. XIV, below.

The discussion in the Mahā-Bhārata implies that some *Ganas* or *Parliaments* did reserve in their own hands the executive policy and did not delegate it to their council or cabinet, as it says that the system is a weak point in *Gana* constitution. Probably non-delegation of executive power was more general a trait than delegation. The Ambashthas and the Kshudraka-Mālavas seem to have had such constitutions. The democracies seem to have followed the non-delegation system. The government of the *city-states* in the Punjab is taken by the Greek writers to have been as a rule democratic. "At last after many generations had come and gone, the sovereignty, it is said, was dissolved and 'democratic governments were set up in the cities,' (Diodorus, III. 38.) "Most of the cities adopted the democratic form of government, though some retained the kingly, until the invasion of the country by 'Alexander' (*Ibid*, 39)."

§ 35. The states wherein the Greeks found Executive Power held by a few families on hereditary principle, although the rulers were subject to a *Gana*, they have described as aristocratic. In fact they were a mixed constitution which may be called for want of a better term, aristocratic democracy. Take for example, the state on the other side of the Euphrates (Babylonia). This had a *Gana* or Parliament of 5,000 members. Yet it was called an aristocracy: "for the multitude was governed by the aristocracy, who exercised their authority with justice and moderation." It was according to the Greek view "an excellent system of internal government." The *Gana* of 5,000 was not a direct

<sup>1</sup> McGindley, *Megasthenes*, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> *IIA*, p. 121, *Megasthenes*, p. 61.

assembly, for only those were entitled to sit there who furnished the state with an elephant. This was the qualification, and a seat in the Gaṇa was based on qualification. The population was composed of 'good agriculturists, and men brave in war.' Every agriculturist and every fighter could not have afforded an elephant. But every agriculturist and fighter presumably must have been represented. Evidently the elephant men represented the 'no elephant' men. To the class of this mixed type belonged also the Patala constitution. The hereditary 'kings' were under the complete control of the House of Elders. It was an aristocracy in form but democracy in spirit.

§ 86. The large number of the Gaṇa or Parliament of 5,000 noticed by the Greeks is not without parallel in Indian literature. The *Large Parliaments* Jātakas describe Vaiśālī, the capital of the Licchavis as having 7,707 kinglets (rājākas). These rulers were composed of both rich and poor sorts who used to gather in the usual assembly in the House of Law on the call of tocsin. Probably all of them did not attend as they do not do in modern Parliaments.

§ 87. Hindu literature calls such aristocratic element of *Hindu term for aristocratic constitution* Gaṇa, a *Kula*,<sup>\*</sup> (literally, 'family'). The Mahā-Bhārata treats 'the Kulas of rājās' as belonging to the class of gaṇas. The Artha-Śāstra refers to the rājā-kulas 'ruling Kulas' or 'Kulas of rājās' as being of the nature of Saṃghas (Saṃgha-dharmīna, p. 328.) The hereditary 'kings' of the Pātalas would come under this description of the Kula-Saṃgha. The Law-books always treat

\* Anshaya commenting on Nārada, I. 7, defines kula as controlled or managed by a few people (कुलानि क्षत्रियवृद्धादीनाम्). On grihitāna compare the verb jagrāha, 'to hold.'

Kulas as distinct from Ganas and both come therein side by side<sup>1</sup> Gana, therefore, pure and simple, had no hereditary principle and technically was of the nature of democracy. Often, there was a mixture of the two, and pure Kulas were rare. The distinction was in later times ignored.<sup>2</sup> The Jainas who founded their religious Ganas also founded religious Kulas.<sup>3</sup> This Kula however was a misnomer, as the founders were celebrities and no hereditary principle could be followed. In pure Kula States 'supreme rulership' went by turns to the few families (Kulesu pachechekādhipachcham)<sup>4</sup>

§ 55. We have concluded this brief constitutional survey of these Republics. But let us not part company with this chapter of our republican polity without a few words on their general culture. Philostratus in the *Life of Appollonius of Tyana* gives the information that the Sophoi of Alexander were the Oxydracae and that in the time of Appollonius (about 40 A. C.) they were regarded as 'rather duffers in philosophy than philosophers'. It seems that the Kshudrakas in Alexander's time were noted for their philosophic wisdom and were called the wise (Sophai). Similarly the Kāthas are famous in Indian literature for their Upanishadic philosophy and Vedic learning. They were followers of the Krishna Yajurveda, their edition of that Veda, the Kāthaka Samhitā, has come down to our times. In Patañjali's time, the Kātha reversion was the ruling authority, it was recited in every

<sup>1</sup> *Pienailitracaya*, quotations at pp. 13 and 40.

<sup>2</sup> Kātyāyana: कूलानि हि समुद्रस्य समुद्रोर्मिर्वाः (Pienailitracaya, p. 426.) "The assembly (or body corporate) of Kulas is called Gana."

<sup>3</sup> See Patañjali edited by Dr. Horrocks in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 347.

<sup>4</sup> *Anguttara-Nikāya*, 58, 1 (Vol. III, p. 76). See discussion *infra* § 21.

town as he says in his *Mahābhāṣya*.<sup>1</sup> Their law-book, the *Kāthaka-dharma sūtra*, was also well-known, and is believed to have been the basis of the *Vishnu-smṛiti*. Their name in Hindu literature will live as long as the *Upanishads* live and the *Yajurveda* lives. Likewise the philosophy of the *Vṛishni* leader and that of his cousin *Nemi* are national beliefs to the present day. The *Śākya*s, although they ceased to exist by the fourth century B.C., had bequeathed the greatest religion to the world. Free constitutions seem to have given rise to free philosophies. Philosophy, politics and military training did not combine to develop a non-human type of humanity. The republics were noted for their love of music. *Arrian* (VI. 3) calls these Indians whom *Alexander* met, 'lovers of dance and song.'<sup>2</sup> The musical propensities of the *Vṛishnis* are a familiar feature in *Sanskrit* literature. The *Harivaṃśa* describes their ball and picnic {Chs. 146—7}.

The *Arthaśāstra* (XI, p. 376) supposes disputation (*kalaha*), on *Vidyā* and *śilpa* ('science' and 'art') to be a wellknown weakness in the republics.

§ 89. It has been noticed as in the case of the *Sikhs* that belief and polity exercise a tremendous influence in moulding the physical features of man. The republican polity of this country is another illustration of this curious law of nature. The *Greeks* testify to the handsome looks and dignified bearing of the *Kshudrakas* and *Mālavas*, the *Saubhāṭas* and the *Kathus*. The remarks of the *Buddha* who compared the handsome *Licchhavis* to a company of gods<sup>3</sup> go to prove the same. *Krishna* in the *Mahā-Bhārata* is reported to have alluded to

<sup>1</sup> On P., IV. 3. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *McCrindle, I. I. by Alexander*, p. 193. [Every nation regards the slaying of every foreign nation as 'wild'. It is true now, it was true 22 centuries ago.]

<sup>3</sup> *R. Mitra, India Arjuna*, Vol. I, pp. 430—42.

<sup>4</sup> "Let those of the *Bhikkhus* who have never seen the *Tavatīpas* gods, gaze upon this company of the *Licchhavis*, behold this company of the *Licchhavis*, compare this company of the *Licchhavis*—even as the company of *Tavatīpas* gods." *Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, S. B. E.*, Vol. XI, p. 32.

the handsome presence of certain Vrishni leaders as a political asset.<sup>1</sup> It seems that the republicans consciously paid attention to physical culture. This the Saubhāgas and the Kāṭhas even enforced by the laws of their constitutions.<sup>2</sup> The disappearance of that physique in the land of the Lichchhavis which excited the admiration of the Buddha, is parallel to the decline of physique in modern Hellas. Features also seem to be amenable to what Aristotle called the Queen of Sciences

<sup>1</sup> See appendix A.

<sup>2</sup> See on the Madras, p. 93 n.

## CHAPTER X

### Technical Hindu Constitutions

(from c. 1000 B.C.)

§ 90. *Gana* and *Kula* were two main divisions of the *Saṃgha* states. Between them there were various technical classes of constitutions. Terms for them which have come down to us and their details, as far as I have been able to collect, I propose to set forth below. Let us take the oldest first.

§ 91. The *Bhaujya* constitution is noticed by the *Aitareya Brāhmana*.<sup>1</sup> We get some light on this constitution from an unexpected quarter. The *Pāli Canon*<sup>2</sup> enumerates careers open to a *Kulaputta*. Amongst these, next to the king-consul, we have *Raṭṭhika* and *Pettanika*. *Aśoka* in his inscriptions, equates *Bhoja* with *Raṭhika* or *Rāṣṭhika*.<sup>3</sup> The commentary on the *Anguttara Nikāya* explains the *Pettanika* as being hereditary leadership (*Sāpateyya*), come down from

<sup>1</sup> *At. Br.* VIII, 14. इतिवर्त्ता दिवि दे वे न सुजगं गच्छन्ती भौज्यादेव तैर्भौज्यकैः। भौज्य-  
नैवानभिधत्तामचकत...

<sup>2</sup> दस्युः कर्मवृत्तिः सखाभासः, कुलपुत्रस्य पदपक्षा भौज्यकम्, यदि वा राज्ञोऽप्यधिक्यं सुहाभिरिष्यकम्,  
यदि वा रथिवस्य पेल्लिकस्य, यदि वा निरायः सेनापतिकस्य, यदि वा मासमानिषिकस्य, यदि वा  
पुन्यमानिषिकस्य, ये वा पुनः कुलसु पुनैवाधिक्यं कारिणिः। *Anguttara Nikāya*, Pt. III, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Rock Series Proclamations V and XIII*, यथाभावं हिन्दुकिंगडेरिकालं दे वाणि चले  
पपराता (*Gleaner V*) ; श्रीकापिलनिकेय, *Shahabgarha XIII*.

forefathers.<sup>1</sup> The *Rāshṭrikas* and *Bhojaks* or *Bhojas* as opposed to *Pettanikas* apparently meant non-hereditary leadership. *Sāpateyyam* ('together-leadership') suggests that in each case there were more than one leader. The *Mahā-Bhārata* also in its list of different classes of rulers mentions *Bhoja* as a class (*Sānti*, Ch. lxvii. Śl. 54).<sup>2</sup> To this interpretation I am also led by Khāravela's inscription which describes the *Rāshṭrikas* and the *Bhojakas* with paraphernalia of sovereignty.<sup>3</sup> Later inscriptions have *Bhojas* and *Mahā-Bhojas* which signify higher and ordinary classes of leaders. Sovereignty rested in the *Bhoja* leaders. The constitution itself was called *Bhaujya* as in the *Aitareya*. It is note-worthy that the *Bhojas*, so-called after their rulers, appear in later literature as a sub-division of the *Yādavas* whose earlier history we find as a league of two republics, called the *Andhaka-Vrishnis* (§§ 36-40). Now according to the *Aitareya* the *Satvats*, which is the ancient name for the *Yādavas*, were one of the peoples who observed the *Bhaujya* constitution.

§ 92. That this constitution prevailed in Eastern India also is probable on account of the reference in the *Pāli Canon*, which as a rule, does not deal with institutions of Western India.

Owing to their special constitution a people in Western India acquired the name *Bhojas*. This is probably a case where a nation is formed on account of its political constitution. The *Andhaka-Vrishnis* were in the peninsula of Gujrat or Kathiawad. The name *Bhoja* or *Bhaujya* still

<sup>1</sup> विनयादत्त वादलेयः. *Agastya* III. Indices, p. 156; again सुनादसुनं सुवति. commentary at p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> राजा भोजी विराट् सम्राट्

<sup>3</sup> Jayaswal, *Kathiyamphā Inscriptions*, J. B. O. R. S., III., p. 455



above. In the time of the *Yajur Veda*, however, the *Svārājya* form prevailed in Northern India.<sup>1</sup> Later reference than the *Aitareya* for this form of constitution has not yet been met with.

§ 94. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* describes the *Vairājya* as a national constitution of some of the 'nations' of the North. The locality is further defined by the words "by the side of the *Himālayas*." In the time of the *Yajur Veda* such constitution was followed in the South. This shows that this form of government was not confined only to the North but was adopted in widely different localities.<sup>2</sup> I have rendered the term, taking it literally, as "the king-less constitution."<sup>3</sup> According to the *Aitareya* the whole country or nation (*Janapada*) took the consecration of rulership. There is no doubt that this was a real democratic constitution. By way of example the *Uttara-Madras* and the *Uttara-Kurus* are given in the *Aitareya* as observing this constitution. The grammatical literature mentions the *Madras* defined according to *diś* or direction, which signifies that there were at least two *Madras*.<sup>4</sup> The *Madras* were republican in the time of *Pāṇini* and they were so up to the 4th century A. C. when the *Guptas* encountered them.<sup>5</sup> It seems

<sup>1</sup> *सुप्रासर्वादी विद्वन्मते देवा अधिपत्यः*, etc., *S. Yajurveda*, XV, 13.

<sup>2</sup> *यदेत न ह्यनेनेन न यजुर्वेदामिदं जायतिमिदं राजा न तदादेनानामुदीक्षां विधि ई ई च परेन विद्वन्मते जनपदा यजुर्वेदस्य यजुर्वेदस्य इति देवाजायेनदेभिर्विचक्षते । विद्वन्मतेनमिदंजायतेनमते.....* *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14.

<sup>3</sup> *विद्वन्मते दक्षिणा दिव्युदीक्षां देवा अधिपत्यः*, etc., *Yajurveda*, XV, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. "To this word, two meanings may be given: 1) without king; 2) a very distinguished king. In this passage we must take it in the first meaning; for here are the *Jampeḍḍi*, i.e., people in opposition to the king mentioned as *abhiṣekta* i.e., appointed, whilst in all other passages of this chapter, we find instead of them, the *raṣṭrapati* or kings." M. Haug, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Vol. II, p. 538, n.

<sup>5</sup> *Pāṇini* IV 2 108. *नैमीत्यम्*. See also the previous *Sūtra*, and VII, 3, 13 *विद्योभेदनाम*, where the *janapadas* of the North are treated.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8.

that the Uttara-Madras or the Higher Madras had a somewhat different constitution from that of the Lower Madras. Now, the Uttara-Kurus in later literature have passed into the region of fable and mythology, where they are noted for prosperity and life of enjoyment.<sup>1</sup> In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, they are a historical people like the Madras. Apparently they, as a separate people, disappeared in later times and the story of their material prosperity transferred them to the region of folklore, a fate very common in this country where history has been often barbarised into mythology.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Milinda Pañha*, Vol. I., pp. 2-3. The old Madra capital (§36) is thus described and compared with Uttara-Kuru about the beginning of the Christian era:—

".....a great centre of trade, a city that is called Sagala, situated in a delightful country, well watered and lush, abounding in parks and gardens and groves and lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains and woods. Wise architects have laid it out, and its people know of no oppression since all their enemies and adversaries have been put down. Brave is its defence, with many and various strong towers and ramparts, with superb gates and entrance stairways; and with the royal citadel in its midst, white-walled and deeply moated. Well laid out are its streets, squares, cross roads, and market places. Well displayed are the innumerable sorts of costly merchandises with which its shops are filled. It is richly adorned with hundreds of shrine-halls of various kinds; and splendid with hundreds of thousands of magnificent mansions, which rise aloft like the mountain peaks of the Himalayas. Its streets are filled with elephants, horses, carriages, and foot-passengers, frequented by groups of handsome men and beautiful women, and crowded by men of all sorts and conditions, Brahmans, nobles, artificers, and servants. They resound with cries of welcome to the teachers of every creed, and the city is the resort of the leading men of each of the differing sects. Shops are there for the sale of Bharata muslin, of Kambhara stuffs, and of other clothes of various kinds; and sweet odours are exhaled from the bazaars, where all sorts of flowers and perfumes are tastefully set out. Jewels are there in plenty, such as man's hearts desire, and guilds of traders in all sorts of shew display their goods in the bazaars that face all quarters of the sky. So full is the city of money, and of gold and silver ware, of copper and stone ware, that it is a very mine of dazzling treasures. And there is laid up there much store of property and corn and things of value in warehouses—foods and drinks of every sort, syrups and sweetmeats of every kind. In wealth it rivals Uttara-Kuru, and is glory it in as Alekananda, the city of the gods."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Saṅkhyasūtra*, Ch. XXVIII. Also *Amaka*, Vol. V., p. 316, Vol. VI., p. 100 where Uttara-Kuru is still a historical country located in the Himalayas.

§ 95. Hindu commentators failing to recognise the significance of the word *Vairāḍhya* ('kinglessness') have fallen into the error of rendering it as '*shining condition*.' But there cannot be the slightest doubt as to the constitutional interpretation given here. Other terms of the same passage of the *Āitareya* do bear constitutional interpretation; and if any additional evidence were necessary, I would refer to the term as used by Kaṭilya who treats it as a form of government and rejects it as a bad form.<sup>1</sup> He, like his contemporary Greek thinkers, held democracy in contempt. According to him

'no body feels in a *Vairāḍhya* Government 'the feeling of "mine" (with regard to the state), the aim of political organism is rejected, any one can sell away (the country), no one feels responsible, or one becoming indifferent leaves the state.'

The Jaina *Āchārāṅga Sūtra*<sup>2</sup> also mentions the *Vairāḍhya* in giving different kinds of constitutions. And the *Mahā-Bhārata*<sup>3</sup> notices *Vairāḍj* as one of the official titles of ruler.

§ 96. The 'capital' of the Madras is noted though not named by Pāṇini. We know from other sources<sup>4</sup> that it was *Śākala* which is supposed to be identical with modern Sialkot. If the identification is correct, the *Śākala* must have been originally the seat the *Uttara Madras*.

In the 2nd century B. C., the capital was under Alexander according to the *Milinda Pañha*. It seems that the Madras

<sup>1</sup> 'वेराज' न सीमा: परमाधिकारः "वेराज" इति शब्दमात्रं सर्वव्यवसायवति; परंतु ना करोति विराजं ना परिमलं चक्षुष्यमिति। — *Ashta-S'astri*, VIII 2, p. 323. Mr. Shama Shastri's translation is hopelessly confused. He takes *Vairāḍhya* to mean "Foreign rule, which comes into existence by seizing the country from its king still alive," p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> *Āchārāṅga Sūtram*, (Jambū's edition) p. 22. *Terejāni* etc.

<sup>3</sup> राजा मेरो विराट्, महाट्... — *Sānti*, LXVIII, 54.

<sup>4</sup> *Mahābhārata*, *Kuruparvan*, *Uhs*, XI, XLIV.

then left their original home and migrated to lower regions where they were found still flourishing in the Gupta age.<sup>1</sup>

§ 97. It is evident that the *Rāshṭrikas* of the West, who in Aśoka's inscriptions<sup>2</sup> are in the group of the Bhojās and Pitanikas, were a non-monarchical community. No king of theirs is noticed by Aśoka. Khāravēla also mentions them in the plural, fighting him in league with the Bhojākās, and with paraphernalia of sovereignty.<sup>3</sup> No doubt now remains as to their republican<sup>4</sup> character. As pointed out above the Pāli Canon knows and names the *Rāshṭrika* or *Raṭṭhika* class of rulers.<sup>5</sup>

According to the implication of the commentary, the *Rāśāhṭrikā-Sāpattiyā* (*Sāpateyyam*) or 'board of leaders' were not hereditary.<sup>6</sup> They were therefore elected. The mention in the Pāli authority goes to indicate that the *Rāshṭrika* constitution was also very probably known to Eastern India. Like the *Bhaujya* this too gave a national name to the *Rāshṭrikas* of the West. The country named *Su-rāśhṭra* of Western India probably owed its origin to a *Rāshṭrika* constitution. In the *Artha-Śāstra*, the *Su-rāśhṭras* are a republic where no king-consul was allowed.<sup>7</sup> The territorial appellations *Rāśhṭrika* and *Su-rāśhṭra* seem to have been derived from this republican constitution.

§ 99. The passage in the Pāli Canon noticed above places the *Pettanikas* by the side of the *Rāshṭrikas*, and, as we have seen, the term denoted 'hereditary leaders.' There appears to have been really a perverted form of the *Rāśhṭrika*, or rather the *Bhoja*, form

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> See above § 91.

<sup>3</sup> See ante p. 90, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Asuttara Nikāya*, Vol. III, LVIII. 1. See above § 91 n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Asuttara Nikāya*, Vol. III, p. 456, where the *Pettanika*, as opposed to *Rāshṭrika*, is hereditary.

<sup>6</sup> *Artha Śāstra* p. 376; See above §§ 95, 97.

of government, where rulers or leaders had managed to become hereditary. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* itself, one class of Bhojas are distinguished from the other by the expression *Bhoja pitarāṃ* (VIII. 12) or hereditary Bhoja (literally, who himself a Bhoja would also be the father of a Bhoja). The commentary to the *Anguttara Nikāya* has in one place<sup>1</sup> *bhuttānubhuttam bhujjati* (= *Pettanika*) which would signify a Bhoja *Pettanika*. The *Pettanika* oligarchy, or probably aristocracy, was prevalent in Western India as evidenced by *Aśoka's* inscriptions. That it existed in Eastern India is probable, coming as it does in the Pāli passage.

§ 100. Kaṭṭiya discusses the constitution called *Dvairājya* in connection with the *Dvairājya* constitution. He characterises the *Dvairājya*, "the rule of two," as a constitution of rivalry and mutual conflict leading to final destruction.<sup>2</sup> It should be noticed that the *Āchārāṅga Sūtra* also refers to this constitution and treats it as distinct from the *Gaṇa* government. This 'rule of two' was neither a monarchy nor an aristocracy. It is a constitution peculiar to the history of India. Historical instances of this constitution are known to our literature and inscriptions. *Avantī* in some period of Hindu history was under this constitution, for the *Mahā-Bhārata* relates that *Avantī* was under *Vinda* and *Anuvinda*, two kings ruling jointly.<sup>3</sup> The inscriptional instances have caused much confusion to Indian epigraphists and they found no solution of the riddle. In the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian era, *Nepal* was under such a constitution. Simultaneous inscriptions of the kings of the *Lichchhavi* family and the *Thākuri* family are found at *Kāthmāṇḍu*.<sup>4</sup> These are orders issued from two

<sup>1</sup> *Anguttara Nikāya*, Vol. III, Indian, p. 456.

<sup>2</sup> देवाजदेराज्योः देराजमन्वीयमनं वादुरागान् परस्परसङ्घर्षेण वा विनश्यति ।

—*Ārtha-Sāstra*, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> *Saṃhita-purāṇa*, Ch. 31 ; Vol. P. 165, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, App. IV.

places in the same capital, and the dates prove that the two dynasties were ruling simultaneously. Epigraphists not knowing the *Deairājya* form of government could not see the real significance. They were therefore forced to suppose an imaginary divided jurisdiction. It is, however, excusable, as the idea of *Deairājya* is so foreign to modern mind. *Prima facie* such a constitution is unthinkable and unworkable. Its working in India constitutes a unique constitutional experiment and success. The constitution in Nepal lasted for a long time. Hobbes' doctrine of indivisible sovereignty would not allow a foreign student to grasp the inscriptions of Nepal. But in India, where joint-family is a living doctrine it is explicable. Such a constitution was feasible only in a country where the juristic notion of the *Mitāksharā* family could develop into a practical principle. It seems that the legal principle of joint property and joint enjoyment was transferred to the region of politics and acted upon, whereby 'conflict,' 'rivalry' and 'annihilation' could be avoided for centuries. The Nepal families were not related by blood. It was only the constitution which made them joint twins in sovereignty. The references in the *Artha-Śāstra* and the *Achārāṅga Sūtra* indicate that the constitution was not a very rare thing in Hindu India.

§101. The *Arājaka* or 'non-ruler' was an idealistic constitution which came to be the object of derision of political writers of Hindu India. The ideal of this constitution was that Law was to be taken as the ruler and there should be no man-ruler. The basis of the state was considered to be a mutual agreement or social contract between the citizens. This was an extreme democracy almost Tolstoian in ideal. The *Mahā-Bhārata*<sup>2</sup> from

<sup>1</sup> This technical *Arājaka* does not mean anarchy. For anarchy, Hindu politics uses a special term, *anātyāya-sāyasa*, see, *AS*, I, 4, p. 9; Khālimpur copper plate (*IL*, IV, 248), Mann, VII, 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Sāntiparvan*, Ch. LIX. In the beginning of the Current Cycle there was no monarchy and no monarch, and there was no man appointed to executive government.

which the above description is taken, ridicules the constitution and says that the framers of this legal state found out their

In fact, there was no executive power. The rule of law and government of law was established. This government of law did not last for want of mutual confidence. Hence monarchy was introduced.

(In another place the same theory is expressed to this effect:

Subjects in the Arājaka state becoming anarchical formed resolutions in an assembly and made laws for control of violence and crime. All the castes for the sake of confidence entered into agreement to live by the contract. But when they were not satisfied with the working of the system they complained to the Creator who recommended them a sovereign, and a king was elected.

This occurs in Chapter LXVII. Both traditions relate to the same theory.

विदितव्यं नरत्वाय यत्न सर्वमर्हस्यः ।  
 यथा राज्यं सन्तुष्टप्रसादी कृतपदेऽभवत् ॥  
 नैव राज्यद्वराकाक्षीय न दण्डो न दाण्डिकः ।  
 यथोचित प्रज्ञाः सर्वार्थं रक्षन्ति न परस्परम् ॥  
 पाण्डितामालाघाद्वीथं नरा धर्मैव भारत ।  
 देवैः परमुपायमुक्ततत्त्वार्थैश्च चाविष्मत् ॥  
 ते मोहवशमापन्नाः सन्तुष्टा सन्तुष्टवर्मा ।  
 प्रतिपत्तिविमोहान् यथोत्तेयानवीतवन् ॥  
 नराणां प्रतिपत्तौ च मोहवशान् नरापन्नाः ।  
 श्रीभगवत्प्रसादतः सर्वे भरतसत्तम ॥

Ch. LIX. §1 13—17.

In §102, they approach Brahman who writes a book on government and recommends a king (*passim*).

Chapter LXVII,

इन्द्रसिंहः प्रथमतो यदाकाशमिति बुद्धिः ।  
 यद्वैदेन्द्रसत्त्वा राजा संपूज्यो भुविमिच्छता ॥ १ ॥  
 अराजकाः प्रजाः सर्वार्थं युज्ये विविधरिति नः श्रुतम् ।  
 परस्परं भयवशो नाकाः इव जले क्रुद्धान् ॥ २ ॥  
 समेकं शासतयत्तुः समग्रमिति नः श्रुतम् ।  
 बाह्यदुर्गं दृष्ट्वापश्यदी यथं व्यापारदारिकः ॥ ३ ॥  
 अथ नः समर्थं सिन्धुद्वारान्वा नचाहमा कृतिः ।  
 विद्यासाधनं सर्वार्थं अर्थोभासविशेषतः ।  
 तावथा समर्थं कृत्वा समर्थोभासतस्मिन् ॥ ४ ॥  
 सच्चिदाकाशदाः अमृतममृतार्थीः पितृमहम् ।  
 अनीदृशं विमलानीं सनवद्वीधरं दिशः ॥ ५ ॥

mistake when the arrangement would work no more, with the result that nobody obeyed the law without sanction; when the law would not rule, the citizens of this form of government took to monarchy. I was inclined to regard this "non-ruler" (*arājaka*) constitution as a mere fiction of Hindu politicians who, I thought, wanted to invent it as an argument against republican theories of social contract and rule of law. But the Jaina Sūtra compels me to take it as a constitutional experiment which had been tried more than once in this country. The Sūtra mentions the form as a living institution.<sup>1</sup> The group where this constitution occurs is composed of all real and historical forms of government. It gives :

- (a) Non-ruler States,
- (b) G a p a r u l e d States,
- (c) Yavarāja-ruled States,
- (d) Two-ruled States,
- (e) V a s i r ā j y a States,
- (f) 'V i r u d d h a - r a j j ā n i' or States ruled

by parties.

The (e) class evidently refers to a government like the one over which Khāravela presided before his coronation (*Yavarajam pasāsitaṃ*). Legally such a period of rule was considered as interregnum. Government was probably in the hands of some council of regency, the sovereign being too young. The (f) class seems to refer to the rule of parties as in the case of the Andhaka-Vṛishṇis.

The Jaina Sūtra says that all these states are unsafe for a monk or a nun to go to, as they are suspicious, prone to suspect strange ascetics as political spies. We know from the

<sup>1</sup> So bhikkhū vā 2 gāṇḍhagāmaṃ dhijjāmaṃ apasāraṃ vā arājakaṃ vā gaṇarājyaṃ vā juvarājyaṃ vā durājakaṃ vā, varājakaṃ vā virūhharajjāni vā, eṇaṃ āgacchāna vāṇaṃ samudharāmaṃgacchānaṃ japaṇaṃ, na virūhharavattiyāṃ pavajjeyyā gāmaṃ, kevaṃ bhīyā : āyānaṃ eyaṃ ; te paṃ bhā : ayaṃ tepe tāp eṇaṃ jāna gāmaṃ, tato samajayāna eṇa gāṇḍhagāmaṃ dhijjā. *Āyāsaṃgacchānaṃ* (Ed. Jacobi) II, 33-34.

Artha-Śāstra that spies generally took the garb of sectarian ascetics.

Very small states on the doctrinaire principle of 'no man-ruler state' could have existed. There must have been Hindu Mazzinis and Hindu Tolstoïs to found and work such glorious but well-nigh impossible constitutions.

§ 102. Another passage in the Jaina Sūtra<sup>1</sup> (II.1;2.2.) gives three classes of rulers: *Ugrā* (*Ugga*) *Bhojā*, and *Rājanya*, (then follow the *Kshatriyas*, *Ikshevakus*, etc). The technical, constitutional value of *Rājanya* we have already found out. *Bhojā* also we know. *Ugrā* we get from Vedic literature ( § 202 Pt. II., p. 8.)

Kerala (Malabar) is also called *Ugrā*. Probably Kerala had the *Ugrā* constitution. Kerala is reputed to have had some republican form of government. The title *Keralaputo* in Aśoka's inscriptions may indicate some special form of government. The *Keralaputo* was the ruler of Kerala, but not its king. Similarly was his neighbour *Satiyaputo* of Aśoka's inscriptions. The Satrats were originally on the fringe of the Deccan, and it is likely that one of their branches went further down. With *Satiyaputo* as a *Bhojā* we can take *Keralaputo* as an *Ugrā*, but the identification must remain tentative until further data be forthcoming.

§ 103. It should be borne in mind that in all these classes of constitutions, the ceremony of consecration was deemed essential. Without that there was no legal state. And why so? The rulers had to take the oath of good and honest government. The ceremony was so important that in democratic republics where the whole country was supposed to rule (*Vairājya*), the whole country took a *bhishika*

Sacrament of rulership essential in every constitution

<sup>1</sup> उग्राकुवाणि वा भोजकुवाणि वा राजकुवाणि वा क्षत्रियकुवाणि वा इक्ष्वाकुवाणि.....

*Aydrangasutram* (Ed. Jacobi).

consecration by a special ritual.<sup>1</sup> The Licchavis had their *abhishēka* (above p. 51, n 2), and the Mallas had their fixed place where their rulers in taking office went through 'coronation,' ('*Mukuta-bandhana*, 'putting on the coronet,' MPS, 6. 15) which pre-supposes *abhishēka* (§ 220 below) 'U-n-a-n-o-i-n-t-e-d' ruler is a term of contempt in Hindu politics. It is to denote an unlawful ruler. It is applied to foreign tribes in the Purāṇas<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Vāyu Purāṇa*,—

अविष्कलीकृतं अथवा उच्छेदः क्षामतीत्येतः ।

नैव मङ्गोभिविश्रान्ते अविष्कानि पराविषाः ।

See Pargiter's text, p. 56



## CHAPTER XI

### Procedure of Deliberation in Hindu Republics

§ 104. To come nearer these republics, to come nearer their breathing life, let us try to steal a peep into their deliberations. If the curtain of the past be too heavy to be lifted, let us be satisfied only with an indirect view.

(We know from the Buddhist Sūtras and the references noticed above that matters of state were discussed in the assembly of our republics.) There is one single direct reference to the technical aspect of these deliberations. That one reference is of highest importance, for it puts us on the right track. The capital of the Śākyaas was besieged by the king of Kosala. (It is recorded that while the question of surrender was being discussed, opinion was divided. The Śākyaas therefore decided to find out the opinion of the majority.) And voting was done on the subject.)

"So the king sent a messenger to the Śākyaas, saying, 'Sirs, although I have no fondness for you, yet I have no hatred against you. It is all over; so open your gates quickly.' Then the Śākyaas said, 'Let us all assemble and deliberate whether we shall open the gates.' When they had assembled, some said, 'Open them,' others advised not doing so. Some said, 'As there are various opinions, we will find out the opinion of the majority.' So they set about voting on the subject."

The voting resulted in favour of the proposed capitulation and the city capitulated. Now, where can we get greater details of this procedure of voting and majority? (We have seen that the Buddhist Saṃgha was copied from the political Saṃgha.) We have also seen that the example of counting

\* Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, pp. 118-9.

votes in the Gana is directly cited by the Buddha as a guide. Therefore, if we can get at the procedure of either of the two, the political or the religious Samgha, we would be having a picture of the common type. The institutions were contemporary, and in ordinary course, technicalities of procedure of deliberations would be common to popular bodies. (But in the case of the Buddhist Samgha its foundation is known and its borrowing from the political Samgha is clear.) The procedure of the Buddhist Samgha would be nearer the procedure of the parent Samgha, the Republic. If we eliminate the religious modifications, we can restore the common type. For this I reproduce the procedure of the religious Samgha, the very rules of which show that the terms and proceedings had already become technical before they were introduced by the Great Teacher into his Brotherhood. It will give us the details of the procedure of voting and majority.

§ 104. All the members who had the right to be present,  
 were present in the assembly on seats,  
 placed under the direction of a special  
 officer appointed for the purpose :

"Now at the time a Bhikkhu named Ajita, of ten  
 "years' standing, was the reciter of the Pātimokkha  
 "to the Samgha. Him did the Samgha appoint as seat-  
 "regulator (*āsanapaññāpaka*, i.e., *āsanaprajñāpaka*) to the  
 "Thera Bhikkhus."

§ 105. Deliberations were initiated  
 with a motion in these terms :

"Let the venerable Samgha hear me." "If the time seem  
 "meet to the Samgha, let the Samgha do...  
 "This is the motion (*āatti*, i.e., *Jāpti*, 'notice')."  
 After this the mover moved the matter in the form of a

<sup>1</sup> Account of the Congress of Vesālī, *Chullavagga*, XII, 2, 7. (*Vinaya*, S. B. E., XX., 408).

resolution (Pratiñā) to be adopted by the Saṅgha. All those who approved of the resolution were asked to remain silent, and those who would not approve were required to speak. In some cases the resolution was repeated thrice and then, if the assembly remained silent, it was declared as carried, and the party affected was formally informed of the resolution. I give below some instances from the Vinaya Piṭaka to illustrate the above description.

Here is a resolution moved at the instance of the Buddha himself :

"Let the venerable Saṅgha hear me.  
 "This Bhikkhu Uvāla being examined in the midst of the  
 "Saṅgha with an offence, when he has denied it then confesses  
 "it, when he has confessed it then denies it, makes counter-  
 "charges, and speaks lies which he knows to be such. If  
 "the time seem meet to the Saṅgha, let  
 "the Saṅgha carry out the Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-  
 "kamma against the Bhikkhu Uvāla. This is the  
 "motion.

"Let the venerable Saṅgha hear me. This  
 "Bhikkhu Uvāla (&c., *as before*). The Saṅgha carries out the  
 "Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-kamma against Uvāla the  
 "Bhikkhu. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the  
 "Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-kamma being carried out against Uvāla  
 "the Bhikkhu, let him keep silence. Whosoever  
 "approves not thereof, let him speak.

"A second time I say the same thing.  
 "This Bhikkhu Uvāla (&c., *as before, down to*) 'let him  
 speak.'

"A third time I say the same thing  
 (&c., *as before, down to*) 'let him speak.'

"The Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-kamma has  
 "been carried out by the Saṅgha against

"Uvāla the Bhikkhu. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand."

"Then the Saṃgha carried out the Tassa-pāpiyyusikā-kamma against Uvāla the Bhikkhu. (4. 12. 4)."

The following is taken from the account of the Congress of Rājagṛha, held after the death of the Buddha:

"Then the venerable Mahā-Kassapa laid the resolution before the Saṃgha: 'Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. If the time seem meet to the Saṃgha, let the Saṃgha appoint that these five hundred Bhikkhus take up their residence during the rainy season at Rājagaha, to chant over together the Dhamma and the Vinaya, and that no other Bhikkhus go up to Rājagaha for the rainy season.' This is the resolution. Let the venerable Saṃgha hear. The Saṃgha appoints accordingly. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. The Saṃgha has appointed accordingly. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand."

Again,

"And the venerable Mahā-Kassapa laid the resolution before the Saṃgha: 'If the time seem meet to the Saṃgha, I will question Upālī concerning the Vinaya'."

"And the venerable Upālī laid the resolution before the Saṃgha: 'Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. If the time seems meet to the Saṃgha, I, when questioned by the venerable Maha-Kassapa, will give reply.'"

\* *Chullavagga*, 4. 11. 2. Trans. by Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, *Sacred Books of the East*, XX, 29.

\* *Chullavagga*, 11. 1. 4.

\* *Ibid.*, 11. 1. 7.

§ 106. The rule of *quorum* was strictly observed. In small local societies of Buddhist monks a number of twenty formed the *quorum* to transact all kinds of formal acts.<sup>1</sup>

If any business was transacted without the required number of members being present, the act was regarded as invalid and inoperative:

"If an official act, O Bhikkhus, is performed unlawfully by 'an incomplete congregation, it is no real act and ought not to be performed.'"

The duty of gathering the minimum number of members was undertaken by one of the members:

Ganapāraka  
or Whip

"Or, I will act as the *securer of the number* ' (at the next meeting)." Oldenberg and Rhys-Davids have translated the passage (Sacred Books of the East, XIII, p. 307) as follows:

"Or, I will help to complete the *quorum*."

The Ganapāraka was the 'whip' to the assembly for a particular sitting.

§ 107. The procedure of moving the *ñatti* (*jñapti*) once and the *pratiñā* once was called *ñatti-dutiya*, the Two-*ñatti*-procedure; and when they had to be moved thrice, it was called *ñatti-chatuttha* (the Four-*ñatti*-procedure). Putting the resolution or *pratiñā* to the assembly was called *Kammavācchā* (*Karmavācch*). Now if the *ñatti* was moved and no *Pratiñā* formally put, or if the resolution was proclaimed and no *ñatti* had been moved, the act would be considered

Consummance of  
disregarding  
procedure

<sup>1</sup> Mahāvagga, IX, 4-5.

This corresponds to Patanjali's *Vyākhyāṣaṣṣṭhaḥ*, Mahābhāṣya, V, 1, 2, II, p. 356 (on Y, I, 59).

<sup>2</sup> Vinaya, Mahāvagga, IX, 3, 2.

अथर्वी न च निवर्तते न च निवर्तते ।

<sup>3</sup> Mahāvagga, III, 6, 6 नचपुरो वा नविस्समीति ।

invalid. Similarly, an act requiring a *ñatti-chattuttha* could not be lawful if the motion or the resolution was not moved for the prescribed number of times. Again, the order of the motion and resolution could not be subverted:

"If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a *ñatti-duttīya* act "with one *ñatti* and does not proclaim a *kammavācchā* "such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhus, "a *ñattiduttīya* act with two *ñattis* and "does not proclaim a *kammavācchā*..., with one " *kammavācchā*, and does not propose a *ñatti*..., "with two *kammavācchās*, and does not propose a " *ñatti*, such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhu, a *ñatti-chattuttha* act with one " *ñatti* and does not proclaim a *kammavācchā*, "such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a " *ñatti-chattuttha* act with two (etc.)<sup>1</sup>...."

§108. Vote was called *Chhanda*. *Chhanda*  
 Votes literally means 'free,' and 'freedom' or  
 'independence.' It connotes that in voting,  
 a member was expressing his free will and choice.

Votes of the members, who were entitled to be present at  
 the meeting but who owing to some illness  
 absentee or like disability could not attend, were  
 scrupulously collected. An omission to do this vitiated the  
 proceedings. But such votes were rejected if objected to by  
 the assembled members. It was optional with the members  
 to count them but they were expected to be collected usually:

"If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñatti-duttīya* act not all the Bhikkhus,  
 "... entitled to vote are present, but if the *chhanda*  
 " of those who have to declare their *chhanda* has not been  
 " conveyed (to the assembly), and if the Bhikkhus present

<sup>1</sup> Vinaya Mahāvastu, IX, 3, 47, 8. Trans. by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, S. B. E., Vol. XVII, p. 233 ff.

"protest, such an act is performed by an incomplete congregation."

"H. O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattidutṭiya* act as many Bhikkhus as are entitled to vote, are present, but if the *chhanda* of those who have to declare their *chhanda* has not been conveyed (to the assembly), and if the Bhikkhus present protest, such an act is performed by an incomplete congregation."

§ 109. If the Saṃgha adopted a resolution unanimously, the question of voting did not arise; but if a matter entailed a division in the opinion of the members, speeches were made and the *Procedure of Majority* was observed. The opinion of the greater number (*bahutara*) decided the matter. The procedure is called *Ye-bhūyasaikkāma* in Pāli. The Sanskrit restoration would be *Ye-bhūyasaiyakkāma*, 'Those (who were) most-Procedure.' The voting was carried on with the help of voting-tickets which were coloured. The tickets were called *Śālākā* or pins<sup>1</sup> and the voting was called the pin-taking (*śālākāgrāhaṇa*). There was a Teller, *Śālākāgrāhaka*—'taker-of-the-pins,' appointed by the whole Saṃgha who explained the significance of the colours and took the vote either secretly or openly.

"A Bhikkhu who shall be possessed of five qualifications shall be appointed as taker of the voting-tickets, one who does not walk in partiality, one who does not walk in malice, one who does not walk in folly, ... walk in fear, one who knows what (votes) have been taken and what have not been taken.

"And thus shall he be appointed

"First the Bhikkhu is to be requested (whether he will undertake the office). Then some able and

<sup>1</sup> S. E. E. Vol. XVII, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> We gather from a Chinese record that these tickets were of wood.

"discreet Bhikkhu is to bring the matter before the Sangha saying:

" 'Let the venerable Sangha hear me.

" 'If the time seem meet to the Sangha, let the Sangha  
" 'appoint a Bhikkhu of such and such a name as taker of the  
" 'voting-tickets (etc.).....'

" By that Bhikkhu, the taker of voting tickets, are the  
" votes to be collected. And according as the  
" larger number<sup>2</sup> of the Bhikkhus who  
" are guided by the Dhamma shall speak,  
" so shall the case be decided."

" I enjoin upon you, Bhikkhus, three ways of taking votes,  
" in order to appease such Bhikkhus—the secret  
" method, *Gāthakam*, the whispering  
" method, *Sakappa-jappakam*, and the open  
" method, *Vivāṭakam*. And how, O Bhikkhus, is  
" the secret method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu who  
" is the teller of the votes is to make the voting-tickets of  
" different colours, and as each Bhikkhu comes up to him he  
" is to say to him thus: 'This is the ticket for  
" 'the man of such an opinion, this the ticket  
" 'for the man of such an opinion. Take whichever you like'  
" When he has chosen (he is to add), 'Do not show it  
" 'to anybody.'"<sup>3</sup>

§.110. Sometime to escape many "pointless speeches"  
the right of deliberation on a matter was  
'Pointless speeches' and Delegation Committee. delegated to an appointed committee who decided the question

<sup>1</sup> *Chullaṅkya*, IV, 9, 5, S. B. E. XX, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> The old number (3) of the Sabhā (jury) who are required to sit with the Judge under Manu, VIII, 10, points to the rule of majority. It is clearly enjoined in the *Śrīti-Sūtra*, with regard to the decision of land disputes by a jury of neighbours. 'Land disputes are to be decided by village-elders of the neighbourhood. If there is a division of opinion among them, the decision to prevail is of the honest majority.'

देवर्षिवादं ब्रह्मचर्यासंज्ञां कुर्वन् । देवा ईर्ष्यायै हन्त. ननुः स्वर्गोद्भवता वा तस्यै निवर्त्तते ५, ४

Compare also the par. of 7, 5 or 3 in the *Sūtra-sūtri*, IV, 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Chullaṅkya*, IV, 11, 28; S. B. E., XX, p. 54; 26, p. 56.

amongst themselves and then communicated their decision to the Saṃgha. If the committee could not come to a decision, 'the custody of the case, remained in the hands of the Saṃgha' who decided it according to the Procedure of Majority.

"If, O Bhikkhus, whilst the case is being enquired into by those Bhikkhus, pointless (*anaggāni*) speeches are brought forth, and the sense of any single utterance is not clear, I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to settle the case by referring it (to a jury or commission)."

"And thus, O Bhikkhus, is he to be appointed. First, the Bhikkhu should be asked (whether he be willing to undertake the office). Then some discreet and able Bhikkhu should address the Saṃgha thus:

"May the venerable Saṃgha hear me. Whilst this case was being enquired into, pointless speeches were brought forth amongst us, and the sense of no single utterance was clear. If the time seem meet to the venerable Saṃgha, let it appoint Bhikkhus of such and such a name on a committee. This is the motion,' etc."

"If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, are not able by the committee to settle that case, those Bhikkhus O Bhikkhus, ought to hand over the case to the Saṃgha, saying, 'We, Sirs, are not able by a committee to settle this case, let the Saṃgha settle it.'

"I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to settle such a case by vote of the majority."

The same principle operated when a matter was referred to a larger body :

"But if you, sirs, should not be able to do so, then will we ourselves retain the custody of the case."

<sup>1</sup> *Chullavagga*, 4. IV. 19, (*Ubbahita*—Skt., *Udrakita*).

<sup>2</sup> *Chullavagga*, 4. IV. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Chullavagga* 5. IV. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Chullavagga*, 4. IV. 18.

Again :

"Then the Sangha met together with the intention "of enquiring into this legal question. But while they were "enquiring into it, both was much pointless speaking brought "forth and also the sense in no single speech was clear. Then "the venerable Revata laid a resolution before the Sangha :

".....'If it seems meet to the Sangha, let the Sangha "'settle this legal question by referring (it to a jury).'

"And he chose four Bhikkhus of the East and four "Bhikkhus of the West.....'Let the venerable Sangha hear "'me. During the enquiry into this matter there has been "'much pointless talk among us. If it seem meet to the "'Sangha, let the Sangha delegate four Bhikkhus of the East "'and four Bhikkhus of the West to settle this question by "'reference....The Sangha delegates four Bhikkhus of the "'East and four Bhikkhus of the West to settle this question by "'reference. Whosoever of the venerable ones...approves not "'thereof, let him speak. The delegation is made accordingly. "'The Sangha approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus "'do I understand' "1

§111. A settlement by this procedure was called a "proceeding in presence" (*Sammukha-vinaya*). The delegates were regarded as lawfully representing the interests in the matter and therefore the parties were considered to be present in the discussion.

"If then, O Bhikkhus, those Bhikkhus are able on the "reference (or on the committee) to settle the  
Principle of "case, that, O Bhikkhus, is called a case that  
representa- "is settled. And how is it settled? By the  
tion "Proceeding in Presence. And what therein is meant  
"by the Proceeding in Presence. The Dhamma is  
"represented, and the Vinaya is represented,  
"and the particular person is represented." 2

1 *Chullavagga*, XII. 2, 7, 8.

2 *CA*, V., 4, 14, 21; *S. B. E.*, XX, p. 32.

§ 112. If once a question was decided in accordance with any of the valid procedures of the assembly, it could not be re-opened.<sup>1</sup> "Having been once settled, it is settled for good."

§ 113. It appears from *Chullavagga*, IV, 14, 9, that a member was liable to the 'Procedure of Censure,' if he did not control himself in discussion and showed "contradiction, cantankerousness, and similar misdemeanours in speech."

Re-opening a settled question was also regarded as an offence. "When a legal question, O Bhikkhus, has been thus settled, if a disputant re-opens the question, such re-opening is a *Pacchittiya*."

An act of an assembly, inadequately constituted, could not be indemnified afterwards by a fuller assembly. A contrary opinion seems to have been entertained by some people. But the procedure of indemnity (*anumatikappa*) was altogether rejected by the followers of Buddhism.

§ 114. There used to be Clerks or Recorders of the House, who without ever quitting their seats took down minutes of the deliberations and resolutions. A Buddhist sutta, *Mahā-Govinda*, to which we shall have to refer again, describes a meeting of the Gods in their Hall the *Sudhamma Saḥā* ('the Hall of Good Law'). At the four angles just outside the rows of the celestial members of the assembly and in front of the demi-gods (spectators), four recorders, each with 'the title of 'the Great King' (*Mahārāja*), take their assigned seats. The four Kings became the receivers of the speeches and receivers of resolutions 'in respect of the matter,'

<sup>1</sup> for which the Tāvātīya Gods having assembled and being seated in the Hall of Good Law, deliberated and took counsel together."

<sup>1</sup> *Chullavagga*, IV, 24, 25.

'They the Four Lord Clerks of the House remaining the while in their places, not retiring' <sup>1</sup>

The learned translator of the *Dīgha Nikāya* rightly saw in this that 'the Four Great kings were looked upon as 'Recorders of what had been said. They kept the minutes of 'the meeting.' <sup>2</sup> Now as men attribute their own institutions to their Gods, it is a simple inference that the Indians in the days of the Buddha had such Clerks of the House in their parliaments or 'Mote Halls', as Prof. Rhys Davids has already pointed out. <sup>3</sup>

'Acts of indemnity' and other 'acts' and 'laws' passed must have been reduced into writing, and we know that elaborate record of judicial business was kept by the *Licchchavis*. The large body of the republican *gaṇas* necessitated the presence of more than one clerk. The members of the assembly made speeches from their seats and the Clerks near the section 'took down the words.' Evidently the Clerks of the House were men of position.

§ 115. This view captured from the fleeting past, from the distant sixth century before Christ, the significance of the terms and procedure shows clear features of a highly developed stage, marked with technicality and formalism in language, with underlying concepts of legalism and constitutionalism of a most advanced type. This pre-supposes a previous experience extending over centuries. The *Jñāpī*, the *Pratijñā*, the *Quorum*, the *Śalākā*, (ballot-voting),

<sup>1</sup> MG, *Dīgha Nikāya*, XIX, § 14. Pali Text Society's edition, vol. II, pp. 220—25 :

Yen' atthassa doraṁ Tāvatipasaṁ Suddhānāyā sambhayaṁ sammācinnā honti sammāpatāṇā. tam attham chintayitvā tam attham mantayitvā vutta-vachanā pi tam chattāro Mahārājā tasmān atthe honti, pucchānussūṭha-vachanā pi tam chattāro Mahārājā tasmān atthe honti sakassa ānāseṇa jhita uttipakkanta.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. II. (Sacred Books of the Buddhists Vol. III.), pp. 263—4, n.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 'There must have been such Recorders at the meetings in the Mote Hall.'

the Procedure of Majority, the Reference, are all mentioned by the Buddha without any definition, that is, as terms already current.

§ 116. The Jātakas, which go back in date to pre-Buddhan times, do not let any doubt linger as to the existence of the procedure of voting and its use in political matters before the birth of the Śākya Muni. In Jātaka I<sup>1</sup> (p. 399) the election of a king to the vacant throne of a city is described. All the ministers and the Nāgaras (the members of the capital assembly or the citizens of the capital) having agreed unanimously by a common voting (*ekacchhandāhuvā*) elected their new king. This was a *Referendum* of the whole city, and not the city assembly only, as the word for the City assembly in Pāli is *Negama* (see ch. xxvii, below). *Referendum* (*\*chhandaka*) of the whole city (*Sakala-nagara*) was known to early Buddhist literature on which the author of the commentary on the Jātakas drew. *Chhandā*, according to the Pāli canon is *voting*, and the *\*chhandaka* of the whole city in a city state would naturally mean a referendum. In any case, the reference to the election of king by a common voting is certainly pre-Buddhan in the text of the Jātaka. There is another passage in the Jātaka, Vol. II, pp. 352-3, which proves that the procedure of moving a resolution three times in political matters obtained before the time of the Buddha. The procedure is mentioned in a humorous fable; it, therefore, must have been well-known in actual life to be so mentioned. A bird is repeating a motion for the election of a *rājā*, evidently a republican *rājā*; he has done so twice and the motion was opposed by another member of the assembly: 'Wait please!' The opposer of the motion

<sup>1</sup> *Fausbøll's ed.*

begged leave to make his speech which was granted on condition that the speaker should state his reasons on the principles of political science and law (*artha* and *dharma*). The speaker gave his reasons and he carried his opposition. The opposition was on the well-known republican ground: that the proposed king<sup>1</sup> had not a pleasant presence. Evidently, it is a mimicry of the republican principle of election on the ground (amongst others) of good looks and presence. But the procedure which comes out of the mimicry and ridicule establishes our thesis. It was republican first and became Buddhistic afterwards.

The Buddha only adopts the procedure-rules for particular kinds of cases arising in his organization. He himself came from one of the republics and mostly lived amongst republican communities: he was perfectly familiar with their working system and adapted it to the benefit of his own Order. His ambition was to found a large state, an empire, of his religious system (*dharma-chakra*) but the organisation he created to realise his aim was communal, fit to establish and hold only a city-state of *dharma* and not a *dharma-chakra*. The limitation was the result of early associations. Born in a republic, where political and public spirit was more intense than in contemporary kingdoms, he combined in him the capacity, the enthusiasm and the ambition, not of a quiet recluse, but of a republican chief and of a conqueror.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the normal Hindu ascetic he would hold property for his Sangha, he would hold meetings and pass resolutions and punish offenders.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Owl.

<sup>2</sup> In personal matters also, the Buddha showed a conservativeness acquired from his early associations. He was proud of his Ikshvāku lineage even when a recluse. He told the Brahmin Kṛishṇāyana, who had insulted him as a Śākya, that he (Kṛishṇāyana) was descended from one of the slave girls of the Ikshvākus. 'If you do not give a clear reply (to my charge), then your head will split in pieces on the spot.' *Anaṅgala Sutta*, *Sutta 20*, Riba Davidson, *Dialogues*, I, 114-116.

Throughout his spiritual achievements, he is a republican Śākya, and his system is a constitutionalised spiritual propaganda, a Propaganda of Conquest. To achieve success in his spiritual designs, he had to perpetuate his republic of dharma (Dharma-Saṃgha), and to perpetuate the republic of dharma, he adopted the constitution and the constitutional procedure of the republic of politics.



## CHAPTER XII

### Franchise and Citizenship

§ 117. Basis of Franchise In aristocratic republics the basis of franchise was the family, i.e., the Hindu family. This is implied by the *Mahā-Bhārata* when it says that there is equality in the *Gaṇa* by family (*kula*) and by birth (*jāti*).<sup>1</sup> Equality by birth and family made up the constitutional equality inside the Hindu republic. Every free man in a *Saṃgha* was equal by his birth, and every family was equal, for political purposes. A passage in the Pali Canon also takes the *Kula* as the basis of franchise.<sup>2</sup> The Buddha preaching to the sons of the Lichchavis says that high careers open to a *Kula-putta* or cadet of a family were these: He might become consecrated to rulership, might become a *Rāṣṭrika*, or *Pettanika*, or the Generalissimo, or the President of the Township, (*gāmagāmanika*), or the President of the Industrial Guild (*pāṇagāmanika*). It is meant that all these offices were elective and a *Kula-putta* was eligible to all these in a *Gaṇa*-state. A sixth career is added and it is with regard to a *Kula*-state which we have already noticed above: 'Supreme rulership [over other rulers] by turns.'<sup>3</sup> *Kaṭyāyana* the law-giver says that *gaṇa* is the assembly of

<sup>1</sup> See Ch. XIV below. *जति*, literally, 'birth,' is not caste. There were, as we have seen, all castes amongst the republics. Free birth as opposed to slave birth is probably meant by it. Cf. the Yatic *ujjāta*, see below Ch. XXV.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 89, n.

<sup>3</sup> कुरीतु यद्वै काशिवतः । *Asputana Nidāna*, Vol. III, p. 70

Kulas.<sup>1</sup> Kula or family was thus the basis of political right and power in aristocracies and in aristocratic democracies. But it could not have been the rule in what the Greeks called democracies. There everybody was equal, of course, by birth. Birth alone must have been the basis of franchise in constitutions like that of the Kāthas and the Saubhūtas where even the selection of the 'king' depended upon personal qualification and no one attached any regard to the family, and where the culture of the individual himself was the prime consideration of the State. We find in the Śākya Parliament both young and old assembled; in the Vṛishṇi Saṃgha, father, son, and younger brother, (Kṛishṇa, Pradyumna, Gada) all possessing franchise (§ 197).

§ 118. Pāṇini gives rules to form words denoting the country of origin of a man (IV. 3. 90),<sup>2</sup> or his present habitation (IV. 3. 89),<sup>3</sup> and also to denote *b h a k t i* which one bears to a particular country, tribe, ruler, or holders of *janapada* (republican rulers).<sup>4</sup> One of the illustrations given by Patañjali is the community of *Glauchukāyanakas* whom we know to have been a political state from Macedonian writers.<sup>5</sup> As they owe *bhakti* to Gluchukāyana, they are called the 'Glauchukāyanakas.' Kātyāyana modifying one of the rules of Pāṇini introduces the republican illustrations of the Madras and Vṛijis.<sup>6</sup> One of Madra *bhakti* may be called

(holders eligible  
to citizenship in re-  
publics

<sup>1</sup> कुलात् किं कुरुष्व नमः समन्वितोक्तिः । *Vicramadityaya*, p. 426.

<sup>2</sup> भक्तिवत् । ४ । ३ । ८७ ।

<sup>3</sup> भोक्तृ निवातः । ४ । ३ । ८८ ।

<sup>4</sup> Pāṇini, IV. 3. 90-100: भक्तिः १२२ । भक्तिपदस्य साधारणम् १२३ ॥ नवाराज्यस्य ॥ २० ॥ साहसिवात्सायां नृन् ॥ २८ ॥ लोभचिन्ताभ्यां वहुन् वृत् ॥ २२ ॥ अनपदिनां लभ्यमानस्य लभ्यमानस्य लभ्यमानस्य वहुन् वृत् ॥ २२ ॥ Sūtra 90 distinguishes *loyalty* from *partiality* in the use of *bhakti*. Cf. Kāśikā (343): *achūta*, 'non-purposed' or 'non-thoughtfulness' is significant. Our's weakness for milk is an '*achūta*' *bhakti*; i.e., political *bhakti* is a considered and rational condition of mind.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 75.

<sup>6</sup> On Pāṇini IV. 3. 100, सर्वत्र नमः पञ्चदशविधाभवेत् ॥ १ ॥ तत्र सर्वत्र नमः ॥ २ ॥ Patañjali: माद्री भक्तिरस्य माद्री वा भक्तिरस्य सद्रक्ष इति नमः स्यात् वाद्री भक्तिरस्य वाद्री वा भक्तिरस्य इति नमः स्यात् । *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II, pp. 314-15.

*Madra*ka and one of *Vṛijī bhukti*, *Vṛijika*. *Bhakti* in these cases means constitutional allegiance.

*Bhakti* literally means 'sharing,' 'exclusion,' and secondarily 'attachment.' Separate rules to denote territorial and political *bhakti* over and above the rules to denote the country of origin or domicile of a man, suggest the idea of an artificial citizenship. By sharing *Madra*- or *Vṛijī-bhakti* one would be called *Madra*ka or *Vṛijika*. A *Vṛijika* therefore might not have been a born *Vṛijī*, and a *Madra*ka, a born *Madra*. It has to be noticed that Kautilya, in mentioning the king-consul republics, uses the form *Vṛijika* and *Madra*ka. The Jaina Sūtra also uses the forms *Mallak*[ī] and *Lehchhavi*[ka]. The 'Vṛijikas' included *Vṛijis* and non-*Vṛijis* owning a common *Vṛijī* allegiance, which might include people originally conquered by the *Vṛijis* or people voluntarily amalgamated with the *Vṛijīa*.

It is thus evident that the republics extended citizenship to outsiders. This will explain the enormous territorial and communal growth of the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas who covered vast expanses of land in later centuries.

[§ 119. Orientalists, both Indian and European, have based an argument on वासुदेवानुनाम्नां वृन् (IV. 3. 98)

*Bhakti*  
to Arjuna

of Pāṇini. It has been argued that the Sūtra establishes the worship of Vāsudeva in and before the time of Pāṇini. But the context shows that no religious *bhakti* is meant. Pāṇini uses the term in the sense of political or constitutional allegiance. Take for instance, the *bhakti* owed to the holders-of-*janapadas* in IV. 3. 100. These holders-of-*janapadas* were certainly not worshipped. Take again, the preceding Sūtra, IV. 3. 97, where *bhakti* to 'Mahārāja' is stated. Now nobody would contend that Mahārāja, either a man or a country, was worshipped. Then we have to take into consideration the previous Sūtras where place of origin (अभिजन) as opposed to domicile (निवास) in connexion with the highlands, Sindhu and

Takṣaśilā and Śalātura, etc., is discussed. There is not a trace of religious *bhakti* (devotion). Again, scholars have taken note of Vāsud'eva while Arjuna who is placed along with Vāsudeva in the same Sūtra has been ignored. There is no evidence that Arjuna was deified. *Bhakti* to these two Kshatriyas is the political *bhakti*. The party loyal to Vāsudava and the party loyal to Arjuna must have been well-known in literature like the *varga* of Vāsudeva mentioned by Kātyāyana (Kielhorn, Vol. II, p. 295). Patañjali is perplexed as to why a separate Sūtra वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां हुन् should have been given when there was a Sūtra coming (IV. 3. 99) which gave the same formation in case of allegiance to a Kshatriya (ruler)-name: "गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं वृञ् (४.३.८८) इत्येव सिद्धम् । न ह्यस्ति विशेषो वासुदेव-शब्दादानी वा वुञो वा । तदेव रूपं स एव स्वरः । इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं वासुदेव-शब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातं वक्षामीति । अथवा नैषा क्षत्रियाख्या । संज्ञेया तत्रभवतः ।" Patañjali here understands Pāṇini's IV. 3. 98 to refer to *bhakti* owed to these two as Kshatriyas (rulers) and not as deities. The cause of Patañjali's perplexity seems to be a confusion which arose by treating a Vārttika of Kātyāyana, viz., गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं वृञ्, as a Sūtra of Pāṇini. As a matter of fact गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं वृञ् is given as a Vārttika (No. 18) to Pāṇini, IV. 2. 104 (Kielhorn, p. 296). The same rule could not be both a Vārttika of Kātyāyana and a Sūtra of Pāṇini. It has already come as a Vārttika, and by treating it as a Vārttika the sense becomes clear. Kātyāyana completes Pāṇini by giving a general rule on allegiance owed to well-known Kshatriya rulers).

## CHAPTER XIII

### Judicial Administration and Laws of Republics

§ 120. The Hindu law books recognise the laws of Kula States as well as those of Gana<sup>1</sup>. The Kula Court was presided over by Kulikas or aristocrats<sup>2</sup>. In a mixed constitution of aristocracy and democracy we may find a Kulika Court. Such a court, as a matter of fact, we do find amongst the Vrijis, where there was a Board of Eight Kulikas to investigate into criminal cases.<sup>3</sup> The law books prescribe that an appeal should lie from the Kula Court to the Gana-Court.<sup>4</sup> We can understand this provision if we take into consideration a mixed constitution. There may be a Kulika-Court there, but then it would be subject to the higher jurisdiction of the Gana. The Kulikas in the Vriji constitution were subject to the superior jurisdiction of the heads of the Gana—General, Vice-King and 'King.' The Mahā-Bhārata says that it was the duty of the Kula-elders to take notice of criminal

<sup>1</sup> Yājñavalkya, I, 360 : II, 193, कुलानि गणैः च वीर्यं अनाद्यात्मदानविः ।

अथर्मावितान्पराभा विभीषणायवर्षेण ॥ १ ॥ १५० ॥

विजयर्मावितान्पराभा वपुः सान्वितो मयि ॥

वीर्यं वर्तते न संस्थाः पर्यै रात्रिस्तथा च ॥ २ ॥ १८५ ॥

See also, धर्मसूत्रविद्वत्पाराशर्यः समप्रक्रिया । *Brhhaspati* quoted in *Vishnuśatrudaya*, p. 424.

And Mann, VIII, 41 :—आतिशयमदान्मर्त्यं च वीर्यमेव धमेति ॥

समीत्य कुलधर्मेव सधर्मे प्रणिपादयेत् ॥ ८ ॥ ३१ ॥

<sup>2</sup> *Hādhapāṇi* after whom a text is named in the Pāli Canon was a kula-putta and son of the *gana-kulika*. See also, कुलिकाभ्यामेमुक्याव दुरवाननिवादिनः ।

धामपौरवर्षेण आचार्यैर्विदध रविणः ।

कुलानि कुलिकायेव दिवुका वयसितया ॥

*Vishnuśatrudaya*, p. 11. Comm., कुलिकाः कुलर्षेः पुत्राः ।

<sup>3</sup> See above II 49—50. Cf. *Kāṭyāyana* (quoted in *Vishnuśatrudaya*, p. 41),

अथानिः सान्वितवर्षेः कुलसुहृद्विहितम्, where कुल—a court.

<sup>4</sup> See, n. <sup>3</sup> at p. 124 below.

offences and that justice should be administered through the *President*, that is, punishment was given in his name.<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been done amongst the *Vrijis*. There were industrial organisations in a *Gana*<sup>2</sup> as in a monarchy. These guilds (*pūṇas*) had some judicial powers. But their decisions were appealable to the *Kula* and *Gana* Courts.<sup>3</sup>

When the *Ganas* were conquered by, and became subject to, monarchs as in the days of the later law books (*Nārada*, *Bṛihaspati* and *Kātyāyana*) a decision of *Gana* was made subject to the appellate jurisdiction of the monarch or the royal Chief Justice.<sup>4</sup>

§ 121. That the *Ganas* had their own laws is evident from the provision of the Hindu law-books which, as has been pointed out above, recognise their separate existence. It is also proved by the testimony of the Greek writers who praise the laws of Indian republics. The *Mahā-Bhārata* also praises their good legal system. The *Licchavis* are recorded to have had a book of legal precedents.<sup>5</sup>

The laws of the *Ganas* are called by the law-books *Samaya*.<sup>6</sup> *Samaya*, literally, means a decision or a resolution arrived at in an assembly (from सम् + √१ = meeting), that is, the laws of the *Ganas* were passed in their meetings.

<sup>1</sup> See Ch. XIV below.

<sup>2</sup> *Anguttara Nikāya*, Vol. III, p. 76. See above § 117.

<sup>3</sup> कूलस्य विपुलस्यैवः कोऽपि न स्यादधिकः ।  
 विद्वान्ने निदिगन्त इतिहासपरोक्षरा ॥  
 विद्वान्ने न विमिः कार्यं कुर्वेदं विचारितम् ।  
 एकेनैव विद्वान्ने न स्यात्तान्निविदुः ॥  
 कुलविद्वान्निविदुः स्यान्नेनोपेक्षो विद्वान्ने ॥  
 सर्वविद्वान्निविदुः स्यान्नेनोपेक्षो विद्वान्ने ॥

—*Bṛihaspati in Vṛamitradaya*, p. 40.

All these quotations refer to a time when *ganas* had become subject to monarchies.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.* at p. 123 and *ibid.* above.

<sup>5</sup> Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 22. Such books were kept in monarchies also. See *Śāstra*, Vol. III, p. 292. *GH J.*, Vol. V, p. 125.

<sup>6</sup> *Nārada* and *Bṛihaspati* quoted in *VM*, pp. 423—425.

## CHAPTER XIV

### Characteristics of Republics according to the Maha-Bharata

§ 122. In Śānti-Parvan, Chapter 107 is devoted to the characteristics of the *gaṇas*. There are traces in the discussion which indicate that the characteristics given go back to fairly early times. It is nowhere contemplated that the *gaṇas* owed allegiance to monarchs, far less that they were conquered. This would relate to a period before the rise of empires.

§ 123. As the discussion is of great importance, I give below the text and translation of the entire passage.<sup>1</sup> Former translations are hopelessly confused, the reason being that *gaṇas* had ceased to exist long before the time of commentators, and their real significance was forgotten.

§ 124. The disquisition in the Mahā-Bhārata makes it clear that '*Gaṇa*' refers to the whole body politic, the entire Political Community, and, in the alternative, the Parliament, and not to the "governing body" only (a view to which Dr. Thomas inclines, *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 534). The governing body was composed of the *Gaṇa-mukhyas* and *Pradhāna* (Chiefs and President) whose jurisdiction it was to conduct affairs of the community (verse 23).<sup>2</sup> Resolutions of State were matters which remained in their hands (verse 24); they held meetings and discussed those Resolutions (25). They also saw to the administration of justice (27). Thus the executive was a distinct body inside the *Gaṇa*.

It may also be noticed that the large number which composed the *Gaṇa* is alluded to in verse 8; and the *whole* body is mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Society of Bengal ed. of the M.Bh., Śānti-parvan, Ch. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Gaṇa-mukhyas* = *Samgha-mulāyas*, Artha-Sāstra, p. 377 (XI-9).

in verse 24. It was impossible to keep matters of vital policy secret on account of the large number of the *Gaṇa*. This was in the opinion of the Mahā-Bhārata writer a great defect in the *Gaṇa* constitution (8 and 24). It is thus apparent that a close body was not meant by 'Gaṇa'. The *Gaṇas* generally formed confederacies (11 to 15). Learning in the *gaṇas* is alluded to in verse 21.

“Of the Characteristics of the *Gaṇas*.”

गणानां वृत्तिमिच्छामि श्रोतुं मतिमतां वर ॥ 6 ॥

यथा गणाः प्रवर्द्धन्ते न भिद्यन्ते च भारत ।

शरीरं विजिगीषन्ते सुहृदः प्राप्नुवन्ति च ॥ 7 ॥

मेदन्मूलो विनाशो हि गणानामुपलक्षणे ।

मन्त्रसंवरणं दुःखं बहूनामिति मे मतिः ॥ 8 ॥

एतद्विच्छाम्यहं श्रोतुं निखिलेन परम्परा ।

यथा च ते न भिद्येरन्तः मे वद पार्थिव ॥ 9 ॥

॥ भीष्म उवाच ॥

गणानाञ्च कुलानाञ्च राज्ञां भरतसत्तम ।

दैरसन्दीपनावेतौ लोभामर्षौ नराधिप ॥ 10 ॥

लोभमेकौ हि वृणुते ततोऽमर्षमनन्तरम् ।

तौ जयव्ययसंयुक्तावन्योन्यञ्च विनाशिनौ ॥ 11 ॥

चारमन्त्रबलादानैः सामदानविभेदनैः ।

जयव्ययभयोपायैः कर्षयन्तौ तरेतरम् ॥ 12 ॥

तदादानेन भिद्यन्ते गणाः संघातवृत्तयः ।

भिन्ना विमनसः सर्वे गच्छन्त्यरिवशं भयात् ॥ 13 ॥

भेदे गणा विनश्येयुर्मिन्मास्तु सुत्रयाः परैः ।

तस्मात् संघातयोगेन प्रयतेरन् गणाः सदा ॥ 14 ॥

अर्थावैवाधिरम्यन्ते संघात-बल-पौरुषैः ।

वाङ्माय मैत्रौ कुर्वन्ति तेषु संघातवृत्तिषु ॥ 15 ॥

ज्ञानवृद्धाः प्रशंसन्ति युयुवन्तः परस्परम् ।

विनिवृत्ताभिसन्धानाः सुखमेषन्ति सर्व्वेभ्यः ॥ 16 ॥

धर्मिष्ठान् व्यवहारांश्च स्थापयन्त्य शासतः ।

यदावत् प्रतिपश्यन्तो विवर्हेन्ते गणोत्तमाः ॥ 17 ॥

पुत्रान् भ्रातॄन् विष्टृक्णन्तो विनयन्त्य तान् सदा ।

विनौतांश्च प्रष्टृक्णन्तो विवर्हेन्ते गणोत्तमाः ॥ 18 ॥

चारमन्त्रविधानेषु कोपमन्त्रिचयेषु च ।

नित्यवृत्ता महाबाहो वदन्ते सर्वतो गणाः ॥ 19 ॥

प्राज्ञान् शूराश्चहीत्साहान् कर्मसु स्थिरपौरुषान् ।

मानयन्तः सदा युक्तान् विवर्हेन्ते गणा नृप ॥ 20 ॥

द्रव्यवन्तश्च शूराश्च शस्त्रज्ञाः शास्त्रप्रारम्भाः ।

कच्छास्त्रापस्तु संसूढान् गणाः सन्तारयन्ति ते ॥ 21 ॥

कोपौ भेदौ भयं दण्डः कर्षणं निग्रहो वधः ।

नयत्यरिवर्णं मय्यो गणान् भरतसत्तम ॥ 22 ॥

तन्मात्मानयितव्यास्ते, गणमुख्याः प्रधानतः ।

लोकयात्रा समायत्ता भूयसो तेषु पार्श्विष ॥ 23 ॥

मन्त्रगुप्तिः प्रधानेषु चारचारित्र्य-कर्षण ।

न गणाः क्षम्युशी मन्त्रं शीतुमर्हन्ति भारत ॥ 24 ॥

गणमुख्येभ्यः सम्भूय कार्ये गणहितं मिथः ।

पृथक्पृथक् भिन्नस्य विततस्य ततोऽन्यथा ॥ 25 ॥

अर्थाः प्रत्यवसीदन्ति तस्याऽनर्था भवन्ति च ।

तेषामन्योन्यभिमानां स्वशक्तिमनुतिष्ठताम् ॥ 26 ॥

निग्रहः पण्डितैः कार्यः जिघ्रमेव प्रधानतः ।

कुलेषु कलहा जाताः कुलदुर्दैरुपैक्षिताः ॥ 27 ॥

मोक्षस्य मार्गं कुर्वन्ति गणभेदस्य कारकम् ।

षाभ्यन्तरभयं रक्ष्यमसारं बाह्यतो भयम् ॥ 28 ॥

षाभ्यन्तरं भयं राजन् सद्यो मूलानि क्लन्तति ।

अक्षयात् क्रोधमोहाभ्यां मोभाद्वाऽपि स्वभावजात् ॥ 29 ॥

अन्योन्यं नाभिभाषन्ते तत् पराभय-लक्षणम् ।

जात्या च सट्टयाः सर्व्वे कुलेन सट्टयास्तथा ॥ 30 ॥

न चोद्योगेन दुदध्या वा रुधद्रन्ध्रेण वा पुनः ।

मेदाच्चैव प्रदानाच्च भिन्न्यन्ते रिपुभिर्मयाः ॥ 31 ॥

तस्मात् सङ्घातमेवाहुर्मयाणां शरणं महत् ॥ 32 ॥

TRANSLATION.

[Yudhishthira said.] "(6) I (now) desire to hear, O Leader of the Wise, of the nature of the *ganas* : (7) How the *ganas* prosper and how they avoid (the policy of) *Bheda* [disunion employed by the enemy], O Bhārata, and (why it is,) they aspire to conquer enemies, and also gain allies. (8) Disunion, it seems to me, is the root-cause of their destruction. (Again their) difficulty is, in my opinion, how to keep the resolutions of state secret on account of (their) large number. (9) I am desirous of listening to an exhaustive discourse on this subject, O Oppressor of Enemies. Tell me also, O Prince, how they might avert disintegration."

Bhishma said : (10) "Greed and Jealousy, O King, are the two main provoking causes of enmity amongst the *ganas*, as well as amongst the *Kulas of Rājās*,<sup>1</sup> O Noblest of the Bhāratas. (11) One (of the *ganas* or *kulas*) yields to avarice, then follows jealousy, and the two  
 Leagues : their dangers.      entailing waste and decay lead to mutual destruction. (12) They oppress one another through spies, intrigues, and military force, by employing the policy of conciliation, subsidy and division, and by applying other means of decay, waste and danger. (13) The *ganas* which form a confederacy are divided by those means; divided they become indifferent (to the common cause) and ultimately through fear they pass under the control of the enemy. (14) Thus, divided, the *ganas* would surely perish : separated, they fall an easy prey to the foe. *Ganas*, therefore, should always exert themselves through the system of confederacy."

<sup>1</sup> Aristotactes like those of Patala : 'for in this community the command in war is vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses, while a Council of Elders ruled the whole State with paramount authority.' (Diodorus); also *Artha-Sāstra*, p. 35 : कुलस्य वा अयेष्टास्यै कुल-सङ्घः हि दुर्लभः ।

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Artha-Sāstra*, page 376 :—सङ्घातमिदं ज्ञातव्यमस्मात् अथैव । तान् सङ्घातं मुञ्चति सामन्तः नृपम् । विदुषाम् (read विदुषाम्) निरदक्षाम् ।

(15) "Material prosperity is won by the prowess of the confederated army; outsiders also seek the alliance of confederate entities.

(16-17) *In good gāṇas, Elders-by-knowledge encourage mutual subordination; behaving with complete straight-forwardness (to one another), good gāṇas attain happiness all round. Good gāṇas prosper for they establish valid legal procedures according to the Śāstras, and they are fair to one another.*

(18) Good gāṇas prosper because they discipline their sons and brothers, (members,<sup>1</sup> along with the younger generation) and always train them, and they accept (only) those who have been well trained.

(19) "Gāṇas prosper all-sidedly as they always attend, O thou of mighty arms, to the working of the espionage service, to the matters of policy, and to the collection of revenue to the Exchequer. (20) Gāṇas prosper because they always pay due honour to (their) officers who are wise, heroic, enthusiastic and persevering in the execution of their duties. (2) Wealthy, heroic, versed in the Śāstras,<sup>2</sup> and accomplished in the art of weapons, gāṇas help the help-less ones (= members) across miseries and calamities.

(22) "Gāṇas fall at once into the clutches of the enemy when driven by anger, division, absence of mutual confidence (lit. fear), military violence, tyranny, oppression, and executions (amongst them).

(23) Hence the Leaders-of-the-gāṇas are to be obeyed through the President. O King, the jurisdiction to conduct the community should be mainly vested in them. (24) O Reducer of enemies, (the department of) intelligence and the secret

<sup>1</sup> In Indian guild and caste associations even to this day, members address each other 'Śrīkṛpā', which denotes equality.

<sup>2</sup> This is a clear reference to the learning and cultivation of thought amongst the gāṇas, an information which we have gathered from other sources as well.

of the resolutions of state should remain in the hands of the Presidents. It is not advisable that the whole body of the *ganas* should know those resolutions, O Bhārata. (25) The Leaders of the *ganas* having assembled should adopt measures ensuring the welfare of the *Gana*.

"The course is otherwise of a *Gana* which remains aloof from others, has severed itself (from the confederacy), or which is (in) strained (relations with others). (26) Wealth dwindles down and misfortune follows on account of their division and on their falling back on their individual resources. (27)

"Criminal justice should be administered promptly and by men learned (in law), through the President. If disputes arise in the *Kulas* and the Elders of the *Kulas* remain indifferent; (28) they destroy the race (*gotra*) and dissolve the *Gana*.

"The internal danger is to be guarded against, the external one is insignificant; (29) For the internal danger, O King, is destructive of the very foundations in no time. (30) When (the members of a *Gana*) cease to discuss amongst them on account of uncalled-for anger, on account of foolishness, or on account of natural avarice, there is the symptom of discomfiture.

"There is universal equality by birth (in the *Ganas*) and also there is equality by *Kula*.<sup>1</sup> (31) They cannot be broken up by prowess or cleverness, nor again by temptations of beauty.<sup>2</sup> They can be broken up by enemies through the policy of division and subsidy only.

(32) "The great safety of the *Ganas* therefore is considered to lie in (the maintenance of) a confederacy only."

Confederacy  
recommended

<sup>1</sup> *Kula*=family of *śākhā*, referred to above in verse 10, or, family as a unit, as opposed to individuals. The distinction is still maintained in our social phraseology *ghar picāle* and *paṭe picāle*, 'per household,' and 'per head' (lit. per turban=every male member). More likely it refers to equality amongst aristocrats, otherwise it would be illogical after the mention of the universal equality by birth.

<sup>2</sup> वयस्वयोव.

## CHAPTER XV

### Formation of New Republics

§ 125. Confining our attention to the period of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., we not only find the Buddhists but also the Jains founding religious corporations in the very terms of politics. The Jaina-sūtras show individuals founding new *ganas* and *Kulas* which sometimes take the name of the founder and sometimes that of the place, e.g., *Godāsa*, *Gana* founded by Godāsa, the *Uttara Valissaha Gana*, founded by Uttara and Valissaha conjointly, the *Uddaha Gana* founded by Rohaṇa, the *Indrapāṇaka kula* founded by Karmadhi.<sup>1</sup> Likewise we know of schisms in the Buddhist Saṃgha, and we know also of the formation of new Saṃghas. The phenomenon of new foundations is not confined to the history of our religious 'republics.' (The *Mahā-Bhārata* points out the great danger of disunion and schisms in republics. The authors of the *Mahā-Bhārata* were probably aware of such political breaches. The two *Mallas*<sup>2</sup> and the two *Madras* were probably results of this propensity.

§ 126. Apart from disruptive instances, we have instances of the formation of entirely new republics. The Kurus and the Pañchālas who had been under monarchies according to Vedic literature<sup>3</sup> and the Jātakas, adopt republican form of government

<sup>1</sup> *Heerle Ind. Ast.*, XI-240, XX-347.

<sup>2</sup> The lower *Mallas* are called *Dakṣiṇa Mallas* in the *Sobhāgavata*, (Ch. XXXI, 12) which places the higher *Mallas* next to *Kosala* (XXX, 3.)

<sup>3</sup> See below § 122. Pl. II, p. 4.

about the fifth or the fourth century B.C. As we have seen they are described as republics in the *Artha-Śāstra* of Kauṭilya. Another instance, which has been already pointed out by Prof. Rhys Davids, is the change of constitution of the Videhas.<sup>1</sup> They had been formerly under monarchy according to Vedic literature and the Jātakas. Megasthenes states that republican form of government was thrice established and thrice changed into monarchy.<sup>2</sup> This tradition would have been current in one of the principal seats of monarchy of the Doab where ancient chronicles had been kept.<sup>3</sup>

§ 126. We have, though a little later in age, yet certainly reflecting earlier established notions, republican coins struck either in the name of the Gaṇa, or of the country, and in one instance,<sup>4</sup> the gaṇa being described as the Protector (*trāta-sy*). We have thus reached the artificial country or territorial nation and abstract government. We find the Ārjunāyanas named after one man, the founder 'One of the family of Arjuna (*Ārjunāyana*).<sup>5</sup> The national or the tribal basis had thus ceased to work fairly early, a basis which every ancient republic in sister races outside India was built upon and which also greatly operated in the establishment of the earliest republics in India as well, as implied by the references in the *Mahā-Bhārata* to the Vrishnis and probably to the word *gotra* in Chapter 107 of the *Śānti-parvan*.

The recognition of the system of naming a corporate association after the founder or president helps us in investigating the origins of our republics. The village corporation was named after the grāmaṇī,<sup>6</sup> Vedic charaṇas were named after

<sup>1</sup> *Buddhist India*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Me Crindie, Megasthenes*, p. 203.

<sup>3</sup> The Vrishni Coin noticed above.

<sup>4</sup> See *Gp.* on *Pāṇini*, IV, 2-53.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 15, a.

founders, religious bodies took the names of their first organisers, and so did many of our republics.

As remarked (IV. 2. 53.) above, the constitution of the Vedic period was monarchical. Megasthenes also, as we

Republican—a post-tribal period in India

have seen, notes the Hindu tradition current in the fourth century B. C. that after monarchy

came the republican form. All these data indicate that the republican system is post-Vedic and artificial, that it is post-tribal and philosophic. Take also the names of technical constitutions: *Vairājya*, literally 'kingless-system), *Spārājya*, 'self-ruling (system),' *Bhaujya*, 'temporary rulership (system).' These names are not derived from tribes; it was not that the tribal names gave names to forms of government. The names of constitutions are artificial, philosophic. The tradition that there was first monarchy is supported by the Vedas, the tradition that monarchy was rejected and democratic forms of government set up is supported by the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

§ 127. Again, in view of the above conclusion, take the

Artificial political 'tribes,' not ethnic tribes

tradition of the Purāṇas that Yaudheya and Madra, two cadets of a monarchical house

in the Middle Country, went out to the Punjab and founded states called after their names. This Purāṇic history is in full agreement with known facts: corporate institutions were named after founders. The Madras and the Yaudheyas thus were not tribes, but states and artificial, 'political tribes,' like the artificial, religious Śākya-putraḥ. It was the state in these two cases which gave the name to the citizens, a name which was artificially tribal, or in modern phraseology a name which denoted Political Nationality as opposed to what we may call tribal nationality. In the light of this discussion, we can understand the remark of the ancient grammarian (probably Vyāḍi) quoted by Patañjali: 'Kshudraka - Mālavas are not gotra names,'<sup>1</sup> i.e., family

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 71, n.

names.) Like the Madras and Yaudheyas these were political nations, members of states called after two personal names. We have the additional evidence of Pāṇini that martial states had men of all castes not one *gotra* or tribe. The *Ārājaka* democracy also, according to the *Mahā-Bhārata*, was not based on tribal but legal and communal basis. (Many more of the republics had originated like the Yaudheya and Madra, Mālava and Kshudraka, under purely non-tribal conditions.) The later states (Ch. XVIII) like *Śālaṅkāyana*, *Ārjunāyana* and *Pushyāmitra* bearing personal names and names of recent origin further illustrate the practice.

§ 128. At the same time it cannot be asserted, as already stated, that no tribal element is to be found in any of the Hindu republics. Basis of every state has been in all ages and in all climes, to a great degree ethnic—tribal or national. The real question is whether a state-organization is yet tribal—primitive, habitual and customary, or it is the outcome of intelligent thinking, of theories, of conscious experience and experiments. The stage when State is felt to be based on contract and the ruler is regarded to be a servant of the ruled and when political loyalty (§ 118—119) is even open to strangers, is a high water-mark of constitutional development. Voting and ballot-voting, motion, resolution and legislation, legalism and formalism in procedure of deliberation, are other indices of that stage.

Constitutions gave distinctive marks to individual political community and converted it, so to say, into artificial tribes. It, therefore, becomes very difficult to distinguish between real tribes and artificial tribes, the ethnic *gotra* and the political *gotra*. Probably the early *Sātvats* were originally a real tribe as the description of the *Ypishpis* and *Andhakas* in the *Mahā-Bhārata* would indicate. But the 'Country of *Rājanya* (Elected Ruler), *Rājanya-Janapada*, was evidently a political tribe, a

political community, a creation of constitution.† So was the 'Mahārāja-Janapada.' *Janapada* in such cases becomes a political unit, probably a city-state. The Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojas were, likewise, creations of constitution. The Kaṭhas, on the other hand, might have been originally a tribe, [as Patañjali's expression *Kaṭha-jāṭīyāḥ* may denote. *Jāti*, however, may be a secondary character. *Bīrth* (*Jāti*) in a *gaṇa*-state was deemed to confer equality in citizenship on a free man. *Kaṭha-jāṭīyas* and *Kaṭha-deśīyas* may thus signify only 'men born in the Kaṭha country,' 'men of the Kaṭha-country,' and the Kaṭha-country and Kaṭha-state might have been called after one Kaṭha, the political founder. The other examples of Patañjali, go to support this view, viz., Karaka-jāṭīyas, Karaka-deśīyas, Sraughna-jāṭīyas, Sraughna-deśīyas. Sraughna and Karaka were both place-names, not tribe names. Karaka was evidently derived from a river, e.g., in Pāras-kara (trans-Kara district). *Jāti*, here and in Pāṇini, VI. 3. 41, very likely means 'birth', not caste or nation.] At the same time it is not incompatible with the advanced stage of constitution-making that a community which had been originally a tribal unit and still retained traces of its former organization, should adopt an advanced constitution. But to call all these republics tribal organizations, or 'tribal republics' would be unscientific. Every state in ancient Rome and Greece was 'tribal' in the last analysis, but no constitutional historian would think of calling the republics of Rome and Greece mere tribal organizations.

† On P. VI. 2. 42; Kullhorn, III, p. 157.



## CHAPTER XVI

### A Retrospect of the Period of Rise

§ 128. Thus we find Hindu republics existing and flourishing as early as the age of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa  
to Kautilya

Ancient Hindus had already developed technical constitutions of various classes with special procedures of *abhisheka* for each class. They must have experimented in those systems for some centuries before the composition of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. Now the date of this Vedic work is to be regarded as *cir.* 1000 B.C. It knows King Janamejaya, son of Parikshit whom it mentions towards its end. The history of the *Uttara Kurus* also points to an early date of the Brāhmaṇa. The Uttara Kurus in later Vedic literature become a mythological people with a mythological country, while in the Aitareya, as we have already seen, they are a historical community. According to the Aitareya, the greater portion of Aryan India—North, West and South, was covered with republican constitutions. Only in the middle, in the Midland (the Madhyadeśa), monarchy prevailed. The Midland extended from the Kuru-land (the district of Delhi) up to Allahabad, the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna.<sup>1</sup> Further east in the Prāchi (with its centre in or about Magadha), there was according to this Brāhmaṇa the constitution called *Sāmrajya* which literally means 'a combination of monarchies,' i.e., a federal imperialism around one dominant member. Except the Doab and Magadha

<sup>1</sup> The Monarchies named there in the Aitareya are the Kurū, Pāṇḍya, Uśīnara and Vāśa.

the whole country was republican. Such was nearly the case also in the time of the Buddha, as it appears from Pali authorities. In his time states in Aryan India, according to the *Avadāna-Sataka*, were divisible into the classes: 'those subject to Gana-rule' or republican, and 'those subject to royal rule' or monarchical (*kechid deśa Gaṇādhīnāḥ, kechid Rājādhīnāḥ*).<sup>1</sup> This order, in which the republican countries are placed first, according to the well-known Sanskrit usage, connotes that preponderance in number rested with the republican form.

North and West and South-West were still mainly republican in the time of Alexander. Republics here, therefore, have had a career of about one thousand years at least when Chandra-gupta ascended the imperial throne.

This was the most flourishing period of the Hindu republics. For national prosperity the Uttara-Kurus become proverbial. For learning the Madras and the Kāthas, for bravery the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas, for political wisdom and valiant independence the Vṛishnis and Andhakas, for power the Vṛjīs, and for the philosophies of light and equality, for the emancipation of the low the Śākyas and their neighbours, stamp their indelible marks on national life and national literature of Aryan India during that period.

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<sup>1</sup> See above § 26, p. 31.

III

HINDU REPUBLICS

(b) DECLINE AND DISAPPEARANCE



## CHAPTER XVII

### Republics under the Mauryas

§ 129. The empire of the Mauryas included the republican areas. Greek writers say that Chandragupta won Arachosia and Aria from Seleucus.<sup>1</sup> Aśoka in his inscriptions tells us that Antiochus was his neighbour.<sup>2</sup> Antiochus held Syria and Persia. The Maurya empire thus extended up to Persia in the north-west. In the south it extended up to the Tamil country.<sup>3</sup> What was the fate of the republics under this gigantic monarchical system? To understand this, let us first examine the Maurya policy towards republics. Kauṭilya makes an excellent statement of that policy :—

*'Acquisition (conquest) of a Samgha,'* says Kauṭilya, *'is more desirable than an alliance of goodwill or military aid. Those which are united (in a league) should be treated with the policy of subsidy and peace, for they are invincible. Those which are not united should be conquered by army and disunion.'* Then the policy of division is detailed ending with *'thus should the Monarch (Ekarāja) behave towards the Samghas'* etc.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See passages quoted by V. Smith, *Early History of India*, 2nd ed. pp. 140—151.

<sup>2</sup> Rock Series II.

<sup>3</sup> Proved by the site of the Maeki 'edict.'

<sup>4</sup> मङ्गलवर्तिनो दण्डनिष्कामाभास्तुतः । अङ्गाभिर्द्वन्द्वतद्वयवान् पर्वतः मानद्वयवान् भुवोऽनन्तद्वयवान् । द्वन्द्ववान् (read त्रिद्वयवान्) निद्वन्द्ववान् । Artha-Sāstra, p. 370. दण्डवान् will be opposed to त्रिद्वयवान् ; द्वन्द्व gives no satisfactory meaning. It can give the meaning 'league of two,' but they will be Anagrasas. Hence I have proposed the above correction. The further use of द्वन्द्व in the same chapter, e.g., at p. 379 and the total absence of द्वन्द्व in the discussion support my proposal. Mr. Shama Shastri's rendering of अन्तद्वयवान् as those 'favourably disposed' is far wide of the mark. AS., (Ch. XI.)

<sup>5</sup> Details of the method of creating disunion are given in pp. 376—79 ending with अक्षयवर्तिकादी वृत्तिः ; see also 'Rājā' in अक्षयवर्तिका द्वितीये वृत्तिः राजा etc., p. 379.

In other words, the Maurya policy was to allow honourable existence to those republics which were strong and united in leagues (for these were 'difficult to be conquered'). Those which were isolated were to be weakened by a policy of internal division and then reduced by force.

Evidently many of such isolated states had already come under the control of the Maurya empire when the Artha-Śāstra was composed. The status of the confederate republics varied according to their strength. Some of them were treated on terms of equality, while others were subsidized and probably expected to render military assistance, for 'acquisition of army' from them is a condition contemplated as against pure alliance (मित्रताम). The result of this policy was that the stronger republics survived the Maurya imperialism, while the weaker ones succumbed. The Kshudraks, the Mālava, and the Vriji states which appear in Kātyāyana and Patañjali as sovereign states and in flourishing condition,<sup>1</sup> existed on account of leagues, and so did the Rāshṭrikas and Bhojakas who fight jointly against Khāravela in the time of Patañjali.<sup>2</sup>

§ 130. In the light of ascertained facts of the constitutional history of the time of Kauṭilya and Alexander Republics under Aśoka we can now understand the inscriptions of Aśoka better on a point. We have to recognise the republican character of many of the political communities mentioned by Aśoka in his inscriptions.

In Rock series, section V. Aśoka enumerates :—

- (1) the Yonas,
- (2) the Kambojas,
- (3) the Gāndhāras,
- (4) the Rāshṭrikas,
- (5) the Pitinikas,
- (6) and other *apayāntas* (Günar version)

<sup>1</sup> *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini IV. 2, 45; and on V. 3, 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Bathigumpha Inscription of the Emperor Khāravela*, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. III, p. 453.

In the Kāśī edition, only 1 to 3 are named with the addition 'and other *aparāntas*.' In other words, Aśoka designates the whole<sup>1</sup> (1) to (5) to be '*Aparāntas*'.

(Against these in Rock Series XIII we have :—

- (1) the Yonas,
- (2) the Kambojas,
- (3) the Nābhaka and the Nābha-pāṅktis,
- (4) the Bhojas,
- (5) the Pitinikas,
- (6) the Andhras and the Pulindas.

Instead of *aparānta* they are predicated with '*here, amongst the rāja-vishayas*.' We know that 2, 4, and 5 had non-monarchical constitutions.) Now, two questions present themselves. What constitutional position do they occupy in the system of Aśoka's empire? Are these three, the Kambojas, the Rāshṭrika-Bhojas and the Pitinikas, the only republican communities in the group? To answer these questions we have to examine the inscriptions critically.

§ 131. What is meant here by *aparāntas* and *rāja-vishayas*? *Antas* in Aśoka's proclamations mean 'neighbours' (neighbouring states); following that *aparāntas* can mean literally two things : (1) 'the neighbours of the west,' or (2) 'the hinder neighbours,'—the states on the frontiers of Western India, or, states inside. If we take *Aparāntas* in its later sense, it may simply mean Western End or Frontier of the Country i.e. Western India. The Bhojas and Rāshṭrikas and presumably the Pitinikas, did belong to the country called *Aparānta*, or Western India. But by no license the Yonas and the Kambojas who were in Afghanistan, can be called *aparāntas* in the sense of Westerners. That region is always called 'the North'

Meaning of 'apara-  
rāntas'

<sup>1</sup> *एषा विश्वविजिता* : (Gierhard, Senart, J. R. A. S., 1890, p. 337.

in ancient Indian literature. Nor could the Gāndhāras be called 'Westerners.' They were always counted in the North (*Udīchi, Uttarāpatha*). We have therefore to give up the 'western' meaning.

Then, they in Section XIII are predicated with 'here' which means inside the limits of Mauryan Empire, as opposed to the *antas* outside, like Antiochus, Cholas, etc. The first meaning of a *parāntas* being inadmissible, we must take the other one, 'states inside.' This corresponds and agrees with the 'here' of Section XIII. The two groups are identical in predication: 'inside' or 'inside neighbours.'

§ 132. Let us now examine the *rāja-vishayas*. Aśoka always refers to his territories in the first '*rāja-vishayas*' person possessive. He speaks of 'my empire'. It will therefore be against his known usage to call his countries 'royal countries.' He would have said, if he meant it, 'my countries,' 'my *vishayas*' and not '*rāja-vishayas*'. Further, there is no occasion to refer to his countries or provinces, as he has in the same sentence already said 'throughout my empire.' '*Rājavishayas*' here is equivalent to the *aparāntas* of Section V. *Rājavishayas* should be interpreted as 'ruling (or 'sovereign) countries' (or districts), inside the empire. The 'inside neighbours' here equals the '*ruling vishayas*'.

§ 133. The republics of this group, the '*ruling Vishayas*' or the home-neighbours (*aparāntas*) of Aśoka were thus of the status which deserved the policy of peace or subsidy from the imperial Monarch. They were self-governing states within the imperial territorial limits. The list, of course, is not exhaustive, the emperor is mentioning only those '*ruling Vishayas*' which had accepted Buddhist teachings. Apparently Aśoka was not so successful with the *Rāshṭrikas* as with the *Bhojas* for he notes the latter in Section XIII amongst the places which were inclined to accept the Dharma teachings; while in Section V the *Rāshṭrikas* are noted amongst those where Aśoka's missionaries were busy.

§ 134. The Gāndhāras had already separated before Alexander's time from Takshasilā, its former Capital. In 326 B.C. they were monarchical. Young Porus, a nephew to the great Porus, was their king. But the question of the constitution of the Gāndhāras does not arise, although we have evidence of their being republican about 200 B.C.<sup>1</sup> In Section XIII of the Rock Proclamations in place of the Gāndhāras the *Nābhākā* and the *Nābhā-pāṅktis*<sup>2</sup> have been substituted. These were either neighbours of the Gāndhāras or some sub-divisions thereof. The *Nābhāpāṅktis* ('Nābhā-lines') were like the *Agrakṛtis*, and the Three Yaudheyas or Three Sālanākāyanas, i.e., a league of the Nābhās. In one edition of Āśoka's inscriptions they are called *Nābhātinā* which may mean the 'Three-Nābhās'.

§ 135. Up to this time the *Nābhākā* has not been identified. I find the name in the Gaṇapāṭha on Pāṇini IV. 1. 112 as *Nābhākā*. The rule before IV. 1. 112 deals with derivatives from republican names, and, that after, from river-names. The Gaṇapāṭha on Pāṇini IV. 1. 112, gives an enumeration or group called 'Śiva and others' which contains names of *rishis* and founders of families (e.g., Kakutstha, Kohada, etc.), royal dynasties (e.g., Haihaya), rivers (Gaṅgā, Vipāśā) and a lot of obscure proper names. Along with Pīṭaka, Tṛikahāka, are given *Nābhākā* and Ūras-Nābhā. The Ūras-Nābhās appear also in the republican group of the Rājanyas, Ārjunāyanas etc.<sup>3</sup> *Nābhākā* was probably a national title derived from the Nābhā people. The "Nābhā lines" (*Nābhā-pāṅktis*)<sup>4</sup> which were evidently non-monarchical, were probably identical with the Ūras-Nābhās, the Nābhās of the 'woollen' country. Gāndhāra was famous for its wool.

<sup>1</sup> The Gāndhāras instead of a king have *ṛajapais* in the Mh. U. P., Ch. 187. Patañjali (P., IV. 2. 25), puts them along with the Yaudhās and Śibās whom we know to be republicans.

<sup>2</sup> On Pāṇini IV. 2. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *śreyā* 'lines' or 'rows' and its interpretation in Ch. XXVII (P. II).

§ 135. What was the constitution of the Pulindas?

*Pulindas* They were a Dravidian people in the neighbourhood of the Rāshṭrikas and the Bhojas.

With the Dravidians, the normal constitution was monarchy. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says that it was from the Asuras that the institution of monarchy was copied by the Hindus when they were at war with the former.<sup>1</sup> Were the Pulindas influenced by the Aryan example of their neighbours? Aśoka does not call any of the group a kingdom but a 'ruling country' or district. There is the definite evidence of the Kāśīkā and the Brihat Saṃhitā that the Pulindas were a Saṃgha.<sup>2</sup>

§ 136. As to the Andhras, the problem is more difficult.

*Andhras* There is no corroborative evidence about them.

Two generations before, in the time of Chandragupta, the Andhras were a great kingdom, second in power only to Magadha.<sup>3</sup> But under Aśoka we find them 'a ruling country' within the precincts of Aśoka's empire. It seems that the Andhra power had been broken under the reign of Bindusāra, Aśoka's father, who is credited with having carried on the policy of his father, Chandragupta, in unifying India: 'between the eastern and western oceans' he is said to have annexed sixteen Capitals.<sup>4</sup> This must point to the land of the Southern Deccan, as the area above it had already been under Chandragupta. After victory, the Maurya politicians (Kautilya is said to have been alive) seem to have removed the royal family of the Andhras, and probably as a compromise allowed self-government under some Saṃgha constitution.

Six out of the eight rāṣṭra-vīṇhayaś are known to have been republican.<sup>5</sup> Of the other two there is hardly any doubt

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, Part II, pp. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Kāśīkā* in Pāṇini, V. 3. 114, p. 456; BrS. V. 20, ३००-३०१.

<sup>3</sup> See reference to Pūṅg in V. Smith, *Early History of India* (2nd edition), p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> Jayaswal, *The Empire of Bindusara*, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> For the Yavanaś see below, §§ 157-160.

as to the constitution of the Pulindas. The remaining member of the group, the Andhra, therefore, gathers to itself the strongest presumption for having been a non-monarchical state in the circle of Aśoka's empire.

§ 137. The identification of the *Yavanas* of Aśoka is necessary. It might incidentally settle a great controversy. The *Yonas* of Aśoka, the *rājaviśaya* *Yonas*, were within the limits of the Maurya empire. The grouping in Aśokan records is 'the *Yonas* and *Kambojas*,' while in *Manu* it is 'the *Kambojas* and *Yavanas*.' There is no doubt that these *Yavanas* were contiguous to the *Kambojas*.

The *Kambojas* are identified with the people on the Kabul river (modern *Kamboh*). Now, who were these *Yavanas*? They were the neighbours of the *Kabulis*. They were, therefore, on or near the Kabul river. Further, they were 'self-ruling' according to Aśoka, and according to *Mann*<sup>1</sup> they had lived long enough near the Aryan people to be regarded as occupying the position of a fallen caste though they had been a 'ruling people' (*Kṣhatriya-jātayāh*). According to the *Mahā-Bhārata* they had ceased to be rulers and were living like *Kambojas* and others under Hindu kings.<sup>2</sup> All these descriptions refer to the same conditions. These *Yavanas* could not be referred to the town of Alexandria founded by Alexander in the Caucasus. That was never a self-governing unit, and the Macedonian element of invalid soldiers, who were anxious to leave the place, was too small and would have availed themselves of the death of Alexander to migrate. On the other hand we have positive evidence of the existence of a Greek community on the *Kubhā* or *Kabul* river who had been there for a long time before Alexander's invasion. It is strange that this fact has not been taken notice of. [It settles amongst other

<sup>1</sup> With the *Sakas*, i.e., the *Sakas* of Scythia. *Manu*, X. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Satiparvan*, LXV, 13-15.

things, the vexed chronological question raised on the mention of Yavanāni in Pāṇini.]

§ 138. The Kabul-Yavanas had been organised in a city-state of the Indian republican type in the time of Alexander—a fact which comes in perfect harmony with the description of Aśoka's *rāja-vishaya*. These were probably Perso-Greeks—Greeks or Ionians who had moved and immigrated under the suzerainty of the Persian Empire. The name of their city, Nysa, is a strong evidence of their Persian connection. They had been Hinduised; Alexander's companions first regarded them as Indians. As stated by the Macedonian writers the Nysians claimed to have been Greek in origin. They knew their Greek gods and Greek mythology and tradition.<sup>1</sup>

§ 139. Their state was organised as an aristocracy and their President was called the *Akoubhi*. This word seems to be connected with *Kubhā*, the Vedic name for the Kabul river. It means ['the Leader] of the People by the Kubhā' (*Ā-Kaubhi*). Alexander's companions were convinced of the ethnic claim of the Akoubhis and they passed ten days in Hellenic revels with them. Unless the Akoubhis had been Greek in origin they could not have been able to show such intimate familiarity with matters of Greek mythology as they did and could not have convinced the Macedonians of their claim of kinship.

§ 140. From the treatment of the Yavanas, the Kambojas, the Andhras, and the Pulindas in Mann and the Mahā-Bhārata, it appears that their republics soon lost their independence, and losing it they lost their social independence as well, and were absorbed into Brahmanism under a degraded caste-status—for the Hindu can visualise human organisations only in terms of caste. The result therefore was that these races were reduced into mere degraded castes living under Hindu rulers.

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<sup>1</sup> Arrian, *Nb.* V, Chap. I; Arrian, *Jubla*, I, where Arrian without any doubt treats them as Greeks or Indo-Greeks.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### Republics in Śuṅga Times and later

§ 141. In the Śuṅga period we have some of the old republics that survived the Mauryan policy. These, as observed above, were mostly powerful leagues. There were, however, some individual republican states also in the Śuṅga period. Most of these, now known from their coins, appear to be new states. The majority of the older states do not come on the stage again; and the necessary conclusion is that they were obliterated during the Maurya imperialism. Their next destroyer was the foreign rule of the Northern Satraps who had their seat at Mathurā. The presence of these barbarians leads to a new phenomenon in the history of Hindu republics, namely, migration of the stronger republics to Rajputana.

§ 142. The Yaudheyas were one of the older class.

Yaudheyas They not only survive the Mauryan empire but also the Satraps and the Kushāns. There is evidence of their long life both in the coins struck by them and the inscriptions making adverse references to them. The atmosphere of the Second Century A.C. is full of their military glory. Rudradāman in the second century A.C. describes them as "*rendered proud, as they were, by having manifested their title of heroes among all Kshatriyas*" and "*who cannot be subjugated*".<sup>1</sup>

They appear in the inscription of Samudragupta<sup>2</sup> amongst the group setting limit to the Gupta Empire (fourth century

<sup>1</sup> समवर्जसिन्धु-त-रोरमन्दजातोश्च कामिदेवता श्रीदेवताम्—*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8: वेपथु-कन-पुरादिप्रबलप्रतिमिष्योक्तवान् नावक-श्रीदेवतादिव...

A. C.) There is a unique inscription of theirs in an ornate script discovered in the State of Bharatpur<sup>1</sup> mentioning the elected president ('who has been made the leader,' Fleet) of the Yaudheya-gaṇa. This is taken to belong to the Gupta period.

Their coins which extend from the Śuṅga period to the fourth century of the Christian era, are found in the Eastern Punjab and all over the country between the Sutlej and Jumna rivers. Two large finds have been discovered at Sonpat between Delhi and Karnāl.<sup>2</sup>

It seems that before the second century A.C. they had already moved towards Western Rajputana as it is there that Rudradāman encountered them, his own dominions including Maru. Evidently the Yaudheya territory was very large. They seem to have left their original seat in early Kushān times.

§ 143. On one type of their coins (Śuṅga period) they stamp the figure of a moving elephant and that of a bull. And the coin is struck in the name of the Yaudheyas '*Yaudheyānām*,' 'Of the Yaudheyas.' On the second type they give the representation of the God Kārttikeya, the presiding deity of Heroism and War, and name him on the coin. In fact the coin itself is significantly dedicated to the Deity of Heroism. In other words, the figure is their *La Liberté*. The third type is purely constitutional. It is struck in the name of the Yaudheya-gaṇa or Yaudheya Parliament [or Republic] (*Yaudheya-Gaṇasya jāya*: 'Victory of the Yaudheya Gaṇa'). The figure on it is a warrior with a spear in the pose of a dignified '*tri-bhaṅga*'—representing the type of their citizen-soldier. Some coins bear "divi" (two) and some "tri" (three).<sup>3</sup> These probably refer to their three sections, like Patañjali's *trika Śālaṅkāyanas*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 251, he bore the title of *Mahārāja Mahā-Senāpati*.

<sup>2</sup> मयवती खानिज बाट्टाखरीख : V. Smith, *Cat. of Coins, I. M.*, Vol. I, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, *G. A. I.*, pp. 72—79; Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 141—42.

<sup>4</sup> Patañjali on Pāṇini V. I, 68.

§ 144. The inscription of the Yaudheyas proves that they had an elected President. The order is issued by him describing himself as the President made by the gana of the Yaudheyas<sup>1</sup>. It is not clear whether the records found in the district of Hoshiarpur are impressions of official seals or coins. Of course, the coin and the seal would bear the same *lakṣhaṇas*—the *lakṣhaṇas* of the Saṃgha. The constitutional significance of the records is of great value. They are in the name of the Yaudheyas and their cabinet or executive committee. The latter are called '*mantra-dharaś*'—those vested with the policy of state: ('*Yaudheyāṇāṃ Jaya Mantradharaṇām*.')<sup>2</sup>

§ 145. The Yaudheyas are lost to history some time before the seventh century. For Varāha-Mihira gives the traditional geography and has no living fact before him when he places them with the Gaṇadhāras. The Jōhīyā Rajputs who are found on the banks of the Sutlej along the Bahawalpur Frontier have been identified as modern representatives of the ancient Yaudheyas.<sup>3</sup> This identification appears to be sound both on philological and territorial grounds.

§ 146. The Madras who originally had their capital at Śākala and who gave their name to the country around Śākala, also migrated downwards and became a neighbour of the Yaudheyas. They too fought Samudra Gupta. Their further history is lost and they disappear like their friends. The Madras seem to have been too conservative

<sup>1</sup> Bijayagadh stone inscrip. [C. Flact. G. I., p. 352] विजयः श्रीधर-वन्द्य-पुरन्दरस्य महाराज-महर्षिनायकः पु.....माह्वक-पुत्रीयं चाभिधानं महीरादिपुत्रस्य इत्यादि विज्ञापयित्वा.....

"Secures! Of Mahārāja, mahā-senāpati... who has been made President (leader) by the Yaudheya Parliament....."

"(He) after wishing health to the Brahmin head-men and to the

"Settlement writes: 'There is.....'

<sup>2</sup> Proceedings A. S. B., 1884, pp. 138-40

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, A. S. B., Vol. XIV, p. 140.

to take to the new system of issuing signed coins. They adhered to the old punch-marked : they have not left a single specimen of inscribed coins.

§ 147. The Mālavas and the Kshudrakas re-appear in the Śuāga times. Patañjali knows them <sup>Mālavas and Kshudrakas</sup> and mentions some victory of the Kshudrakas which they by themselves had won.<sup>1</sup> But in subsequent centuries they are no longer traceable. They were probably fully amalgamated with the Mālavas during their migration from the Punjab to eastern Rajputana. The Mālavas were in their new homes about 150-100 B.C., as evidenced by the earliest type of their coins found at Karkota Nāgar (Jaipur State)<sup>2</sup>. This was just the time of the inroad of the Parthian Śakas. The Mālavas seem to have migrated *via* Bhatinda (Patiala State) where they have left traces of their name (in 'Mālawāi' dialect extending from Ferozepore to Bhatinda, LSI., IX. i, p. 709.) Before 58 B.C. the Mālavas are found besieging the Uttamabhadras to the west of Ajmer which was relieved by the forces of Nahapāpa.<sup>4</sup>

§ 148. In 58 B.C.<sup>4</sup> Nahapāpa is defeated and killed by Gautamiputra who re-struck Nahapāpa's coins, and the Gapa of the Mālavas counted the beginning of Kṛita from that date.<sup>5</sup> Their Gapa adopted the date to measure future time (Kāla-jñānāya<sup>6</sup>). The era was 'made authoritative by their use'. The authority of that Era of Prowess (*Vikrama*) still reigns : we use it to this day. The Mālavas subsequently covered the whole of the vast area to the south of Nāgar, which permanently bears their name. They are mentioned in the list of Samudra Gupta's opponents along with other republicans, the Yaudheyas,

<sup>1</sup> Patañjali on Pāṇini, V. 2. 52.

<sup>2</sup> V. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 44; Jayaswal, *Historical Position of Kāli, etc.*, 1A. 1917, p. 151—2.

<sup>5</sup> See references to Kṛita in *Gupta Inscriptions* having dates in Mālava years.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 124.

<sup>7</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, p. 320 (बी माहव-यथावति इयमे इत-चन्द्रे)

the Madras, the Ārjunāyanas, etc. In the Gupta period they retire into the Unknown. Their era was used by great sovereigns of Mālava from the fourth to the sixth centuries. This would not have been done if the Mālava-gaṇa had been still subsisting; for that would have denoted subordination of the sovereigns using the era. They certainly did not exist in the time of Varāha-Mihira (who drawing on older materials) places them near the Himalayas. Varāha-Mihira himself was living in Mālava, and to use so antiquated a datum shows that the real Mālavas had for some centuries ceased to exist. The Vishṇu Purāṇa<sup>1</sup> gives their later habitation (Mewar-Jaipur) and gives it correctly.

§ 149. The coins of the Mālavas<sup>2</sup> bear legends in Brāhmī: *Mālavāndm Jaya* ('Victory of the Mālavas') or, 'Mālava-Jaya' ('the Mālava Victory'), 'Mālavahṇa Jaya' ('Victory of the Mālavas,' in Prākṛita), and 'Mālava-gaṇasya' (Of the 'Mālava-gaṇa').

The story of the name still survives in the close community of the Brahmīns called 'Mālavīs'—now Sanskritised as *Mālavīya*—a fair and handsome people with marked intellectuality and sharpness of business intelligence. They do not marry outside their own community. They had a colony as far removed as the vicinity of Allahabad and are now found in towns near about.

§ 150. In the later Mālava area the Śibīs also appear. The Śibīs were associates of the Mālavas in the time of Alexander as a very rude people, or at least, wearing very rude dress in war, on the authority of the Greek writers. They seem to have migrated with the Mālavas into Rajputana where at Nagari near Chitor their coins are found. They are struck in the name of 'the Country (or Nation) of the Śibīs of Madhyamikā' ('*Majhimikāya Sibi Janapadasya*').<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vishnu Purāṇa*, W. & H., II. 133.

<sup>2</sup> *OCM.*, pp. 170—4.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, *ASH*, Vol. XIV, p. 146. *Madhyamikā* (known to Patoli) was their Capital.

No record of theirs of a period subsequent to the first century B.C. has yet been discovered.

§ 151. The *Ārjunāyanas* as a people do not appear in Pāṇini<sup>1</sup> or Patañjali, nor in the *Mahā-Bhārata*.<sup>2</sup> *Ārjunāyanas* But they are added to the *Rājanya* group of the *Ganapātha*, palpably later as they come towards the end. The addition cannot be later than the time of Patañjali, for in 100 B.C. they are in Rajputana, away from the *Rājanyas*. There they figure with the *Yaudheyas* and others down to the time of Samudra Gupta. The *Ārjunāyanas* seem to be thus a younger political community founded about the Śuṅga times (200 B.C.), by, as the name implies, *Ārjunāyana*. Their coins are inscribed only in Brāhmī script, a fact excluding the idea of northern association about 100 B.C. They bear the legend '*Ārjunāyanāna*' 'Coin of the *Ārjunāyanas*' or '*Arjunayanana Jaya*', ('Victory of the *Ārjunāyana*').<sup>3</sup> They are associates and friends of the valiant *Yaudheyas*, *Madrakas*, and *Mālavas* in Rajputana with whom they migrated there.

§ 152. This migration from the fertile lands of the Punjab to dreary Rajputana is the testimony to the love of liberty which these 'unconquerable' republicans bore 'more than others,' as one of them put it in the time of Alexander.<sup>4</sup> They believed that the *Yaudheya* Country or the *Mālava* Country was wherever the *Yaudheya* or *Mālava* *Gana* lived and lived as of yore in freedom. They would sacrifice paternal homes and lands to preserve their political self and soul. They would go to deserts but live in democratic glory and rule in parliament. It is a settled principle of Hindu politics that freedom is more important than

<sup>1</sup> It is for the first time found in the *Ganapātha* in Pāṇini IV. 1, 112.

<sup>2</sup> See discussion in § 153 on the *Mahā-Bhārata* republics of Rajputanas.

<sup>3</sup> V. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, I. p. 166; Rapson, *IC*, Pl. III, 20.

<sup>4</sup> McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 154. 'For they were attached more than others to freedom and autonomy,' in the address of the *Mālavas*.

home and is to be preserved at the cost of the latter.<sup>1</sup> The republics seem to have fully acted upon this principle: X

§ 153. In addition to the evidence of the coins and the inscriptions on the question of migration of these republics to Rajputana there is the evidence of the *Mahā-Bhārata*.

In the *Sabhā-Parvan* (Ch. XXXII), the Mālavas, the Śibis, and the Trigartas are placed in Rajputana (*Maru*), while in another place (Ch. LII) they are in the Punjab. Evidently Chapter LII (describing the Rājasūya) is based on earlier authorities. There the Śibis, Trigartas, Yaudheyas, Rājanyas, and Madras are mentioned along with the people of Kaśmīra and Kekaya; and the Ambashthas are placed in the same group as the Kshudrakas and Mālavas. In Chapter XXXII (in the *Digvijaya*) the Śibis, Trigartas and Mālavas are given along with the Daśārṇas and Mādhyamakeyas. The Madhyamakeyas were the people of the town Madhyamikā near Nagari in the Udaipur state where Madhyamikā coins have been found in large numbers. Evidently Madhyamikā had not yet passed under the Śibis and was at the time the seat of a separate political community. In the route onwards the river Sarasvatī and the Mataya Country (Alwar) are mentioned. All these Gaṇas then were in Rajputana extending between Sind and the Vindhya. It is noticeable that though the Śibis, Trigartas and Ambashthas do appear with the Mālavas in Rajputana, the Kshudrakas do not.

§ 154. The Mālavas in Chapter XXX, verse 8, are again mentioned with the Matsyas. The later data of the *Mahā-Bhārata* evidently relate to the state of affairs about 150 B.C., while the earlier ones refer to the period of Kauṭilya or earlier, for like the *Artha-Śāstra* it places the Kukuras along with the Madrakas, Yaudheyas and others. The republics were still in the Punjab according to Ch. LII.

In the data of 100 B. C. i.e., in Chapter XXXII, some

<sup>1</sup> ŚNS.

republics are mentioned in the Mahā-Bhārata which we have not met with in earlier literature. They are:—

(1) The Gaṇas of *Utsava-saṅketas*.

(2) The republic of the *Śūdras* and that of the *Ābhīras* who are placed in the Indus valley.

The Śūdra republic is evidently the same whom Alexander met in Lower Sind and whom we have identified<sup>1</sup> with the Brahminical Śaudras or *Śaudrāgaṇas* of the Gaṇapāṭha. According to grammar it was based on the proper-name (of a man) *Śūdra*, not the caste name. The Five *Karpaṭas* and neighbours of the Utsava-saṅketas may have been republican although they are not described as such in the Mahā-Bhārata. Samudra Gupta<sup>2</sup> places the *Ābhīras* next to the Mādrakas, and the *Kharaparikas* also in the same group, i.e., the group of non-monarchical communities. Probably these Kharaparikas or Kharaparas are identical with the Five *Karpaṭas* of the Mahā-Bhārata. The Utsava-Saṅketas were republican, probably founded by two men Utsava and Saṅketa. We may, however, point out that *saṅketa* is a technical term denoting an act or resolution passed by a republic (सङ्केतः समयक्रिया),<sup>3</sup> and it is just possible that 'saṅketa' here originally denoted a state 'founded' by a resolution of the Utsavas. The Utsava-saṅketas are located in the Mahā-Bhārata near Pushkara or Ajmer. They do not seem to come down to the time of the Guptas. Not only they are not mentioned in the Gupta records, they are treated as a semi-mythological people of the Himalayas by the Gupta poet, Kālidāsa. This would

<sup>1</sup> Pt. I. p. 74. n. 3

<sup>2</sup> The other non-monarchical communities in Samudra Gupta's inscription are (1) the *Prāṇjyānas*, (2) the *Kāśas*, (3) the *Ābhīras*, (4) the *Kharaparikas* and (5) the *Sauśāṅketas*. Kālidāsa in laying down punishment for defaming a country (*janapadaprapaṭhā*, III 18) gives in illustration *Prāñjyāna*, along with *Gāndhāra*. That is identical with (1). The (3) had been under monarchs according to inscriptions: having been broken down in power they seem to have copied the constitution of their neighbours. The name of the (4) has been traced in a later inscription by H. H. Hira Lal, [Ep., XII 44]. Nothing more is known of (5). On 'Five' Kh., cf. § 182 below.

<sup>3</sup> Y. ŚL. p. 424.

show that Utsava-saṅketas had long ceased to exist. The Mahā-Bhārata in the same passage mentions 'very powerful town-rulers' on the banks of the Indus.<sup>1</sup> They evidently are the city republics on the Indus as they had existed in the time of Alexander.

§ 155. Considering the power and long career in their new homes, the period 150 B.C. to 350 A.C., may be still considered a living period of Hindu republican polity. It was the period of rise of the Rajputana republics.

At the same time that period was one of decay and decline of republican states in the Punjab and Western India. Parthian Śakas and the Śakas of Seistan who overran those parts, destroyed their independence and dissolved their states.

§ 156. The Kukurās whom the Artha-Śāstra mentions were lost in the dominions of Rudradāman. Kukurās After 150 B.C. they live only in the place-name which they bequeathed to the country they had lived in. The Pitinikas vanished probably in the Mauryan times without leaving behind a single trace.

The Surāśṭras also were merged into common humanity about the 2nd Century A.C.

§ 157. The Vṛishnis of classical glory fell under the Vṛishnis Śaka barbarian leaving behind a couple of coins to tell the story. The orthodox Brāhmi and the republican legend, Vṛishṇī-rājāñāyā-gaṇasya trātasya ['of the Vṛishṇi Rājanya (and) Gana—the Protector of the country'] yet remain. But at the same time the coin is obliged to bear the script of the invader, Kharoshthī, as well. The coin is marked with the state symbol the weapon *chakra* (discus), which was their symbol according to tradition as early as the time of Rājanya Kṛishṇa. The legend is in acscripts of 100 B.C.\*

<sup>1</sup> See above. *सिन्धु नदिना हि न समसीया महापलाः ।*

\* See above § 27, p. 40. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 70, pl. IV. 15, has mistaken the disc for a wheel, but the cutting edges and the projecting points on the rim are clear.

§ 158. It was the weakened condition of the country consequent on the Maurya policy of breaking up the republics that made the way easy for the foreign barbarians of the first century B.C. in Western India. From Sind up to the Maratha country they could easily settle down. There had been left no strong power to oppose them. But the case in other directions was not exactly the same. The barbarians proceed up to Mathurā, but beyond there they are checked, both to the West and the South by the old republicans. The foreigners could not join hands across their two seats at Mathurā and Ujjain.

§ 159. The older republics in the Punjab, however, paid the price which nature decrees from freedom to force. The smaller Punjab republics under the Mauryas had become mere constitutions; they had lost their biological constitution and retained the one of political phraseology: they were no more *Saṃghas*, but mere *Gaṇas*: self-governments without states, states without power.

§ 160. Such had become the ancient *Rājanyas* who *Rājanyas* come on the scene a second time 200-100 B.C. to appear no more.

They struck their coins (200-100 B.C.) in the name of their country: "*Rājanya-Janapada*."<sup>1</sup>

Numismatic scholars have taken this '*rājanya*' as the 'well-known equivalent for *Kshatriya*' (See V. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 164). But this is a mistake. *Rājanya* is the proper name of a political people. It is clearly given as such by Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali and also by the *Mahā-Bhārata*. Their coins are still of the old class called *kāṃsika* (bronze) by Pāṇini, (V. 1. 25) *i.e.*, cast. Their coin which is die-struck bears legend in Kharoshthī and is closely allied to the North Satrap coins, bearing the same figure as the latter. This tells the final tale—the tale of their absorption in the Mathurā Satrapy. Their coins are found in the

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *C. A. I.*, p. 69.

Hoshyarpur District and Mathurā. The former region seems to have been their home.

Their constitution emphasised the 'Janapada', according to which the whole Janapada was consecrated to rulership. It should be noticed that Pāṇini's rule about the Rājanyas deals with 'Rājanya Janapada'. The Rājanyas were, therefore, a democracy.

§ 161. Another old state which shared the fate of the *Mahārāja-janapada* was the 'Mahārāja-janapada'. Their coins originally bore legend in Brāhmī 'Mahārāja-Janapada' ('Of the Mahārāja-Janapada') but latterly when they passed under the influence of the foreign rulers it was changed into Kharoshthī.<sup>1</sup>

The state was old as it is mentioned by Pāṇini in a rule which contemplates a man owing loyalty to it. It is not certain as to what form of government they followed in the time of Pāṇini, but their system is clearly republican of the democratic type in the Śuṅga period as evidenced by their coins. Their coins have been found in the Punjab. The bull with the crescent on the reverse of their coin shows that they were Śaiva.

§ 162. Like the Ārjunāyanas some new republican states were founded in the closing and weak period of the Mauryas. To this class belong the *Vāmarathas* of Kātyāyana and Patañjali,<sup>2</sup> and the *Śālanākāyanas* of Patañjali.<sup>3</sup>

They are traced no further, nor are they found earlier. About the *Śālanākāyanas* we are told by the Kāśikā that they were in the Vāhika country, a statement which is supported by the Gaṇapāṭha which places them along with the Rājanyas and Audumbaras.

They had the *Sastropajñein* constitution. Patañjali furnishes

<sup>1</sup> See Cunningham, *C. A. I.*, p. 69 where he names them erroneously under the Audumbara coins. Prinsep's plate referred to by Cunningham should also be consulted.

<sup>2</sup> On p. IV. 1. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Patañjali on Pāṇini V. 1.58. विवाः राजद्वयः : Kāśikā, p. 436.

the important detail that the Śālaṅkāyanas were composed of three sections. This datum helps us in understanding the coins of the Yaudheyas. It would not be correct to say that they were composed of three tribes. The state was founded, as the name signifies, by one Śālaṅkāyana, a descendant of Śālaṅka which is not even an ancient family name. The three members of the Śālaṅkāyana Saṅgha very likely represent an amalgamation of three small state-units.

§ 163. No history of the Vāmarathas is yet available. According to Patañjali the republic was noted for the scholarship of their learned men. They in this respect resemble the Kaṭhas. They did not however seem to have any military glory like that of the Kaṭhas. Nothing is known about their seat. To this class of new growth and early death must be referred the unnamed states of the Rājanya constitution whose coins are struck only in the name of their Rājanyas (Presidents) e.g., *Rājanya-Mahamītra* ('Of the Rājanya Mahā-mitra'). They bear legends both in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī and they are found in the hills.<sup>1</sup>

§ 164. The Audumbaras are not known to the early Pāṇinian literature; but they are mentioned in the Gaṇapāṭha in the Rājanya group of republics.<sup>2</sup> They are placed at the head of the Punjab republics in the earlier list of the Sabhā-Parvan of the Mahā-Bhārata (Chapter LII). Probably they also were republican. Their coins of the first century B.C. are found in Northern Punjab and they bear legend in Kharoṣṭhī as well as in Brāhmī. Varāha-Mihira places them in the company of the Kapisthālas who are a twin associate of the Kaṭhas in Patañjali. They were somewhere between Kangra and Ambala. A branch of theirs seems to have migrated to Cutch, as Pliny locates the *Odomboces* there. Their coinage resembles that of the Ārjunāyanas in style. Their

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *O. A. I.*, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> On Pāṇini, IV, 2.53

coins show that the Audumbaras (if a republic) had an elective king. They are struck in the name of the community and king, styled 'His Exalted Majesty' (e.g. *Mahadevasa rañña Dharoghō-shasa | Odumbarisa*). The coins bear the 'lakshapa' of a tree, the representation of a building with tall columns and a slanting roof which may be their mote-hall or some other public building, and the figure of their standard which Cunningham mistook to be a Dharmachakra. Across the field *Viśvāmītra* is written and a picture of the Rishi given. Probably Viśvāmītra was their national sage.<sup>1</sup>

The Kharoshthī script indicates that about 100 B.C. they came under the influence of the Satraps like their neighbours of the Punjab, and were finally absorbed. No later records of theirs is found. Their branch in Cutch appears to have lived longer. They have left their descendants in the enjoyment of their name—the modern community of Gujarati Brahmins of the Audumbara caste.

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<sup>1</sup> Rapson, *IC*, pl. III, & Cunningham, *C. A. I.*, pp. 66-68; many of the coins grouped by him under Audumbara coins are not connected with the Audumbaras. Consult also the valuable note by him in *A. S. E.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 133-4.



## CHAPTER XIX

### Disappearance

§ 165. The Gupta power struck the republican system in Rajaputana. The Guptas, however, rose to imperial position by their alliance with the republican Lichchhavis<sup>1</sup> which had survived the Maurya and Śuṅga times and had grown highly powerful. They had outlived their ancient contemporaries in power and glory and remained the single and sole representative of ancient republicanism.

§ 166. A new republic was formed about this time on the ruins of the ancient ones in Rajaputana. *Pushyamitras* This was founded by one Pushyamitra, as the name signifies. The Purāṇas dealing with the Post-Andhra rulers of Vidiśā and thereabouts mention the rulers of a new capital Kāñchanaṅkā. The last Kāñchanakā rulers, that is, those who flourished about 499 A.C., the closing date of the Purāṇas,<sup>2</sup> were '*Pushya-mitras*' and '*Patumitras*', but the rulers before them are kings mentioned by name (e.g., king Vindhya-Śakti, king Śakyamān, etc.). While the other Purāṇas put down the Pushyamitras in the plural, the Bhāgavata mentions the President Pushyamitra ('Pushyamitro'tha Rājanyak') i.e., it mentions the original founder. Some copies of the Vishnu Purāṇa say that Pushyamitra, i. e., the President, was powerful and victorious ( 'सर्ववर्षेण वलवान्

<sup>1</sup> Their name is jointly inscribed with the name of the emperor Chandragupta I on the imperial coins.

<sup>2</sup> Jayaswal, *JORS.*, III, 247.

जयो भविषति).<sup>1</sup> No dynastic figure is given to the Pushyamitras for the evident reason that they were republican.

The Pushyamitras 'developed great power and wealth' to such an extent that they dealt a blow at the imperial throne from which it could not fully recover. The defeat inflicted by them on the imperial forces under Kumāra Gupta made the dynasty, to quote the language of his son Skanda Gupta, totter to its fall.<sup>2</sup> Evidently Kumāra Gupta himself was killed.<sup>3</sup> In the second war Skanda Gupta remained on the battlefield the whole night and slept on the bare ground. The next morning when the battle continued he succeeded in forcing a decision which entitled him, as the inscription says, to plant his foot on the royal footstool, i.e., became entitled to sovereignty.<sup>4</sup> But it is not claimed that the Pushyamitras bent their head or became feudatory. It was therefore a military defeat at most, or rather if we take into consideration the site of the publication of this record of victory (Bhitari in Ghazipur District), it was the stemming back of the invading Pushyamitras. The subsequent history of Hindu India might have received a different turn had they reached Pāṭaliputra and made it the seat of their republican government. We might have seen a vast republic, vaster than the country had yet seen. But the issue was decided otherwise. The Pushyamitras retired, but the glory of the Guptas never returned. The course of their weakness and decline consequent on the Pushyamitra wars could not be checked. There seems to be a strange fatality in the history of the Guptas. They rose to power with the help of a republic, they abolished the ancient

<sup>1</sup> For references to Purāṇic texts, see Pargiter, *Purāṇa Texts*, p. 51 and notes.

<sup>2</sup> कमुदितव(श)कोमान् पुष्यमित्रान्, ..... Bhitari Stone pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta, Fleet, *G. I.*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* विजयितव्यमवसी १११ : विजयं विजयसी १, १३१ पुष्यमित्रं वीरम् १, १६.

<sup>4</sup> विजयि विजयसे(रि) etc.

<sup>5</sup> See lines 12-13. *Ibid.* The translation of this passage by Fleet is confused and does not reproduce the spirit of the text.

republicanism, and they in turn were shaken off their foundations by a republic. The Pushyamitras having executed this historical revenge withdrew in the mystic past.

§ 167. With the end of the fifth century Republics disappear from Hindu India. The old Lichehavis quit

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the political scene, a branch migrating into

Nepal. The young Pushyamitras vanish in the air. The following century saw the final exit of Hindu constitutionalism from the stage of History. All that was good, come down from the age of Vedic Forefathers, all that progress which had been achieved since the composition of the first Rik, all that gave life to the mechanism of State, bade good-bye to the Land. Republicanism was the first to begin the Great Departure, to lead the dirge of political Nirvāṇa. We have understood only one verse of that epilogue—the praise of the sword of destruction which nature gives into the hand of the barbarian. But the other verses are yet a riddle. The real causes of that Departure which the epilogue should disclose remain undeciphered.

From 550 A. C. onwards Hindu history melts into brilliant biographies—isolated gems without a common string of national and communal life. We get men great in virtue or great in crime—we get Harsha and Śaśāṅka, Yaśodharman Kalki and Śaṅkarāchārya—but they are so high above the common level that they are only helplessly admired and sacredly respected.<sup>1</sup> The community ceases to breathe freedom. The causes of this decay must be internal which have yet to be investigated. The Hun invasion alone cannot explain it. The Huns were fully crushed within a century by successive dynasts. Yet the old life refused to return. \}

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<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, see the biography of Harsha by Śāpa. Kalki is deified in his lifetime (*I.A.*, 1917, p. 145). Helpless admiration is an index of the great moral difference between the admirer and the admired.



III

HINDU REPUBLICS :

(c) THEIR SYSTEM AND ETHNOLOGY



## CHAPTER XX

### Criticism on Hindu republican systems

§ 168. Before parting with the republics it is necessary to pass some general criticism on their systems. *Moral Aspects* The *Laws* and the administration of law in the republican states of India are unanimously praised by the Greek observers and their praise is confirmed by the Mahā-Bhārata. Some of them, at least, were careful to preserve precedents of decided cases in books. Even their sworn enemy Kautilya says that a republican chief in his state has the beneficial propensity of *justice*.<sup>1</sup> A high sense of justice was maintained. Without it no republic can last very long. *Discipline* was another virtue of theirs. Kautilya notices as a feature that the republican chief was a man accustomed to discipline.<sup>2</sup> The Mahā-Bhārata points out, as we have seen, that discipline was maintained amongst members, both junior and senior, by responsible leaders. The leaders, further, made themselves and their actions popular.<sup>3</sup> Krishna in the Mahā-Bhārata is reported to mention his difficulties in conducting his federal council to his friend Nārada. The latter rebukes Krishna for his want of control of his speech in public discussions. He advises the Vrishni leader to cultivate the habit of bearing oratorical attacks with patience, and to sacrifice feeling of personal umbrage, to maintain the integrity of the Saṅgha.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> अहंकारं च सत्वेन आनन्दमिति हिः । Arthashastra, p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> दानीं गुरुजनसिंहत्वं । *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> सर्वविद्यावर्धकः । *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix A.

Likewise they were always ready to take the field. *Bravery* was a point of ambition and honour amongst the citizens.

§ 169. As the Mahā-Bhārata says, *equality* prevailed in the Gana. This was naturally necessary. The more democratic an institution, the greater emphasis on equality must have been laid.

In addition to moral virtues the republics had administrative virtues. They were specially successful, on the evidence of the Mahā-Bhārata, in their financial administration. Their treasury remained always full.

§ 170. A great reason of their political strength was that a republic was *nation-in-arms*. The whole community was their army. They were a citizen army and therefore immeasurably superior to the hired levies of monarchies. And when they formed an offensive and defensive league they were regarded, as Kautilya says, 'invincible.' Hindu Republics were prone to form leagues. The league of the Six-Trigartas of the grammarians, the league of the Kshudraka-Mālavas, the league of the Vidahas and Lichchhavis, (the federated Vajjis of the Pāli Canon), the league of the Andhaka-Vṛishnis are examples in point. According to the Mahā-Bhārata it was almost impossible for the enemy to crush federal republics. The Buddha as well gave his opinion to the Chancellor of Magadha that the federal Vajjis could not be conquered by the Magadha King.

§ 171. The *wealth* of the Hindu republic is a matter of admiration both in home and foreign records. The Greeks noticed their riches and the Mahā-Bhārata also bears testimony to it. A citizen had ambition to be the leader of the trade association or of the guild merchant failing to be a political leader (§ 117). The art of peace and the art of war, discipline and perseverance, habits of ruling and being ruled, thought and action, home and state, went hand in hand. A highly practical and keen individual and citizen would have been the result of

this life. With these virtues and this culture, there is no wonder that the *Mahā-Bhārata* says that their alliance was courted, and that they took delight in reducing their foes, and saw to their material prosperity. This is explained by the fact that their training and genius were not one-sided. They were not solely political animals. They were economic animals equally. Kautilya characterises them as martial and industrial in the same breath; they were forced to be industrial and martial by their laws. Attention paid to trade and agriculture kept their treasury and themselves rich.

§ 172. On the evidence of the Greek witnesses they were not only good soldiers maintaining a very high tradition of bravery and skill in war, but also good agriculturists. The hand which wielded the sword successfully, was accustomed to use the scythe with equal facility. According to the *Artha-Sāstra* and Buddhist documents, they were both agricultural and industrial.

§ 173. Separation of powers and functions, which will be noticed in the data given above, for instance, command of the army and executive government amongst the *Patalas*, judiciary, military command, and executive authority amongst the *Licchavis*, similarly elective generalships in several states noticed by the Greeks, and complete absence of sacerdotal element in the chiefs, denote a highly developed sagacity and a vast constitutional experience in the republics.

§ 174. Technical books which have come down to us are of the monarchist school. If we recovered a book of the republican school, it would undoubtedly disclose the theories of state of Republican Polity. That there were such books is extremely probable. The chapters on *Gana* and *Vriśhi Saṃgha* in the *Mahā-Bhārata* indicate their past existence. So does the verse in Kautilya which is evidently quoted from another work, as the verse is the only matter in the chapter which has republican point of view, the rest

being all a monarchist look-out.<sup>1</sup> The discussion on the Arājaka state in the Mahā-Bhārata also shows familiarity with a written theory of state of the Arājaka constitution. All these data indirectly prove the existence of well-considered philosophic bases on which republican constitutions were founded. This basis explains to a great extent the variety which we have noticed in republican constitutions. They were not unconscious, instinctive institutions. There could not have been a lack of philosophic thinking in the country of Kapila and the Kāthas who tackled much more abstruse problems of philosophy than state.

§ 175. The evidence of the Chatus-Satikā of Āryadeva, Republican  
theories a fragmentary manuscript of which was discovered by Mahamahopādhyāya Hara Prasad Shastri,<sup>2</sup> establishes that the elected ruler in a Gaṇa was regarded as a servant of the Gaṇa (*gaṇa-dāsa*): The same principle is declared by Kṛishṇa in the discussion cited in the Mahā-Bhārata. 'It is the servant's duty (*dāsyā*) which I have to perform under the name of rulership (*likēarya-Vādēna*).'<sup>3</sup>

§ 176. It seems that the Kāthas and the Saubhūtas regarded Individualism the individual as mere part of the state. By himself he did not exist. Hence they claimed an absolute right over the child born to individuals. It is evident that other republics did not subscribe to this view. They, as evidenced by coins, take gaṇa, the Government, as distinct from the community; the individual is not lost in the state. At the same time the unity between the two is so complete that the two are very nearly identical. ✓ The extreme case of individualism on the other hand, was the theory of the Arājaka state, the No-ruler-state.<sup>4</sup> Govern-

<sup>1</sup> Artha Śāstra, p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. S. B., 1911, 431.

<sup>4</sup> See 4.101.

ment itself was regarded by the theorists of that class of state as an evil. No one was vested with executive power. Only law was to rule, and the only sanction they prescribed for one found guilty of crime was ostracism. The sovereignty of the individual was not to be delegated to any one man or a body of men. Of course, a state founded on such a basis, to be practical, must have been exceedingly small. Such states, however, did exist in Hindu India as noticed in the Jaina sūtra referred to above. ✓ The monarchist may very well exclaim: 'No Government is more miserable than the 'Arājaka Government.' If a powerful citizen obeys the (law) 'it is all well, but if he rebels, he can work total destruction.'<sup>1</sup>

And the monarchists may very well pick up the *Social contract* the Arājaka theory from the republicans to justify their own theory of monarchy. But they could not ignore the Arājaka theory of Social Contract as the primary basis of state. On the basis of a mutual contract amongst the citizens, according to the Arājaka democrats, the state was founded.<sup>2</sup> This, of course, was true of the Arājaka state. When the monarchists postulate a contract between the king and the people (to take office on condition to rule honestly and to receive taxes in return)<sup>3</sup> they clearly say that this contract was resorted to when the contract of the Arājaka constitution failed in practical working. Here we find the monarchists really adopting the *social contract theory* originally postulated by the Arājakas. ✓ Probably a theory of social contract was common to all classes of republics. Its counter-part, applied to monarchy, was already known to Kauṭilya as an accepted

<sup>1</sup> मङ्गि राज्ञः व्यापकसक्तिः किञ्चिदराजकात् । *Saṅgi-Purana*, LXVI, 7. (Kumb.)

<sup>2</sup> स विजयमनुयोज्यो नमस्ते कृतकस्यैव । इत्येवम् हि प्रवृत्तिः कुर्वीतः प्रवृत्तमसि ॥ *Ibid.* verse 8.

<sup>3</sup> समेव तावत्तद्वत्तुः समवर्तमानि नाश्रयम् । *Ibid.* verse 18.

विद्याभारतस्यैव विद्याभारतस्यैव ।

तावत्तावत्तद्वत्तुः समवर्तमानि नाश्रयम् ॥ *ibid.*, verse 19.

<sup>4</sup> See chapters XXIV, XXV, XXXVI, and XXXVII, on Monarchy, *loc. cit.*

truth.' Its origin in India is very ancient, evidently the most ancient in the world.<sup>1</sup> It is to be remembered that in its full exposition it was a republican theory. Such a theory was of immense value in its beneficial effect on the rulers in general.

§ 177. The best test of the success of a state system is the length of *life* which it can secure for the state.

Longevity

The republican system of India, as a class, proved very successful in securing longevity. As pointed out above the system is mainly post-Vedic. Taking then the age of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa as our earliest landmark, the Satvat Bhojas had a life of about 1000 years. If the Uttara-Madras and Pāṇini's Madras were identical, they lived for about 1300 years, otherwise for 800 years. The Kshudrakas and Mālavas had long existed free before 326 B.C., as they told Alexander. The Mālavas continued on in Rajputana up to c. 300 A.C. They thus enjoyed free life for about 1,000 years. And so did the Yaudheyas. The Lichehhavi record covers a full millenium. The principles regulating the life of Hindu republics thus stood well the test of time.

<sup>1</sup> Artha-Śāstra (I. 14), pp. 22-23. माण्डूक्यादिभूताः प्रजासङ्घेऽनेन राजानं बलिदत्तं। मानवद्वन्द्वं पण्डितमनं द्विष्यं वास्य भारहिणं मन्त्रप्रामासुः। तेन भूता राजानः प्रजायां दीनयेनकाः। 'People oppressed by anarchy made Manu, son of Virasvat, their king. They settled one-fourth of agricultural produce and one-tenth of merchandise, in cash, as his share. Kings catered herewith carry on governments (*yoga*) and well-being (*kalyāṇa*) of the people.' For the meaning of *yoga* see corresponding passages quoted under Monarchy, where king's 'wages' are mentioned. The meaning of *yoga* given here is in accordance with the sense of the word in Manu XI, 62, and the Mitrākṣarā's definition of *yoga*. The meaning of *Yoga* becomes clear by the succeeding line. सङ्घे [मन्त्रप्रामासुद्वयं] इति, where *adapāśana* or 'king failing in government' is referred to in contrast. Compare also on *yoga*, अङ्ग 'member of executive service' in the Artha-Śāstra.

<sup>2</sup> Kautīlya, 300 B.C., quotes it as a well-known theory. The Vedic hymns of election disclose clear germs of this theory. See chapter XXV, (Pt. II) on coronation for references in the Brāhmaṇas. The Buddhists have it in their old books, *Aggāṇa* S. 21 (*Dīpa*) = MV., I., 347-8—वाजिपुत्रेण दहं प्राणिमानं दयाम्। मज्झमा ननदायेन दयतो ति मज्झमापत्तो... राजा ति भेदा उदयानि।

§ 178. But after all the Hindu republics, normally speaking were not large units. Although they were Weak points in Hindu Republics larger in many cases than the ancient republics of Europe, they were, except for the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas and a few others, miniatures in comparison with the vast experiments of our own times, e.g., the United States of America, France, and China.

This *smallness* was the very weakness of the polity. Nations and states which remain small, whatever their virtues, are not allowed to exist. Large states which developed greedy fangs, devoured up small sovereignties. The Mālavas and the Yaudheyas who survived mighty empires and great conquerors, were large territorial units. They must have extended their laws and rights like the Lichchhavis and Madras to the arena of their expansion.<sup>1</sup> They, on account of their largeness, avoided the fate of their early contemporaries of smaller stature.

§ 179. The Mahā-Bhārata says that Arājaka states could be easily conquered; that when an encounter took place between them and a strong foe, they broke like wood which does not know to bend.<sup>2</sup> This was true of all democratic republics. Once conquered they ceased to exist as a community. Their life was so much bound up with their state that life proved only co-extensive with the state and no further.

In the time of Chandragupta, they were discredited by their not very successful opposition of Alexander. It is significant that young Porus, King or President of Gāndhāra, when faced

<sup>1</sup> The form *Mālavika* in the Mahābhārata II, 296, points to that. See discussion on *supra* § 115. *AS.* gives *Lichchhavis* and *Madras*; and *Sarambagupta*, *Mādras*.

<sup>2</sup> अरजकस्य राजाधी नमस्ततः ।

अरजकस्य राजाधिराजस्य वा दुःखः ।

अरजकस्य राजाधिराजस्य वा दुःखः ।

—*Mahā-Bhārata*, *Santi-Parva*, LXVI, 6-7, (Kumli.)

Cf. अरजकस्य राजाधिराजस्य वा दुःखः । *Ibid.*, 10.

अरजकस्य राजाधिराजस्य वा दुःखः । *Ibid.*, 12.

with the foreign invaders, looked towards the imperial power of Magadha, and that Kauṭilya, a man of Taxila, should advocate their abolition in his Science of Commonwealth.

It appears that republics were liable to fall victims to intrigues. In aristocratic bodies *personal rivalry* and *greed of power* were marked out by statesmen like Kauṭilya, as the fit soil for sowing seeds of *dissension*. Varshakāra, a former Chancellor of Magadha, replied to the Buddha, who had said that the Vrijis could not be broken, 'they can only be broken by mutual dissension.' Sources of dissension were not limited to enemy intrigues. As in popular forms of government in all ages, bitter hostilities arose out of discussions in the public assembly. Kṛishna in the Mahā-Bhārata talking about his difficulties as leader of the republic says that his heart was roasted by terrible speeches. The Mahā-Bhārata (in Śānti-Parvan, on gaṇas in general) alludes to this sort of unpleasantness and the consequent cessation of discussion on public affairs which lead to final disruption of the whole body.<sup>1</sup> The Buddhist tradition in describing the cause of the temporary discomfiture of the Lichchhavi body-politic against Ajātaśatru, says that the Lichchhavis, owing to disagreement, had ceased to come to the Public Assembly when the tocsin sounded the call.<sup>2</sup> Then in some cases, the politicians were divided in opposing parties. This feature of the difficulty is put very graphically in the complaint of Kṛishna. 'As regard Āhuka and Akrūra, if they are in one's favour, there is no greater misery for that man; if they are not in one's favour, there is no greater misery for him either, I can not elect the party of the either. Between the two I am like a mother of two gamblers staking against each other who cannot wish for the victory of one and the defeat of the other.'<sup>3</sup>

Internal dissension is said in the Mahā-Bhārata to be the

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A., and chapter XIV above.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. S. B., 1838, 994-5.

<sup>3</sup> App. A.

real danger to a republic. Fear from outside enemies as compared to that was 'nothing.'

§ 181. Dissensions led to *breaking-up of ganas*. By this as pointed out above, we should understand that sometimes schisms occurred and new states were formed. Thus small units to start with, and a tendency to become smaller, jealousy and rivalry amongst politicians, and license in public speaking seem to be the chief points of weakness of the Hindu Republican Polity.



## CHAPTER XXI

### Ethnology of the Republics

§ 182. Mr. Vincent Smith in a letter<sup>1</sup> raises the question of the ethnology of the *ganas*. As the matter is put in issue by an authority of the position of Mr. Smith, I think it incumbent upon me as the student of the *ganas* to discuss it.

Mr. Smith is of opinion that they were of Mongolian origin like the Tibetans. "I believe" [he writes] "that as late as the early centuries A.C. the population of India was largely of Tibetan affinities, snub-nosed people—see the Bharhut and Sanchi sculptures. The Licchhavis certainly were such, and the customs of hill-men give the best clue to the working of the *ganas*. I think both Buddha and Mahāvīra were essentially hill-men of semi-Mongolian type, even if they did adopt Magian features into their teaching. You may, of course, quote me as you propose to do."

§ 183. There are a few facts which are supposed to lend some strength to this view, and I should deal with them first. Some of the minor republics occupied valleys of the Himalayas. And in the Chumbi valley "an old form of elective government," as brought to light by Mr. E. H. Walsh, prevails. Mr. Smith has referred to Mr. Walsh's descriptions in the *Indian Antiquary* (1906, p. 290):<sup>2</sup> Once every three years, according to Mr. Walsh's description, the villagers assemble at a fixed meeting-place

<sup>1</sup> Dated the 26th November, 1917.

<sup>2</sup> But the paper of Mr. Walsh was not before him, and the account, in the *Indian Antiquary* may not be strictly accurate being based on a newspaper report.

and present to the two *Kongdus*, who act jointly representing the two divisions of the valley as heads of the local administration, a list of their elected headmen of the villages. From the list the *Kongdus* select the names of four persons whom they consider to be the most suitable to be the next *Kongdu*. Then they throw with three dice, in the name of each of the four persons they have selected, and the two who obtain the highest throw are chosen as the *Kongdus* for the coming term of three years. This ceremony takes place before an old stone altar sacred to the deity of the locality before which is placed the banner the insignia of the *Kongdu's* office. The newly elected *Kongdus* do not enter on office at once. This is done in the eleventh month when another ceremony takes place and an *yak* is sacrificed at the stone altar. The new *Kongdus* place their hands on the bleeding skin and take an oath on the sacrificed *yak* that they will administer justice even between their own son and the enemy. The *Kongdus* say that they do not hold their power from the Tibetan government but the local deity; that they originally got the banner from him and have always held their power from him. "The administration" says Mr. Walsh, "is thus theocratic as well as elective."

§ 184. Mr. Vincent Smith, in his note in the *Indian Antiquary*, opines, "I have now come across an

Criticism

"observation which suggests that tribal constitution like that of the *Yaudheyas* may have been of Tibetan origin." Again, "for the purpose of illustrating ancient Indian tribal constitutions this slight abstract of Mr. Walsh's paper suffices, because no record exists which gives any details of such constitutions." Nothing like proof on the identification of the *Yaudheyas* as Tibetans is suggested, and it is hard to see why the Tibetan illustration should serve to fill up the vacuum of Indian details. Because no detail of Indian constitutions was known in 1906, was the gap to be filled up from Tibet? Now as the details are forthcoming, it will be admitted that there is not the slightest resemblance between the ceremony of the Chumbi valley which

takes place in the eleventh month of the election of the Kong-dus and the republican consecrations given in the Aitareya. Even the states which were near the Himalayas and which received the *Valrājya* consecration are poles apart from the Chumbi yak-sacrifice. The parliament or *gana* of the Yaudheyas, their *Mantra-dharmas*, their elected *President*, have nothing corresponding to them in the *theocratic government* of the Chumbi valley.

§ 185. As to the sculptures, it has never been claimed on behalf of the *ganās* that the *Sāñchī* and *Bharhut* monuments are the products of republican art. The question therefore, strictly speaking

Bharhut and Sāñchī Sculptures

is irrelevant. I

Mr. Smith's error

may, however, express a fear that probably Mr. Smith's conclusion is based on photographs of the reliefs of *Sāñchī* and *Bharhut*. The

noses have been the pointed target of decay and iconoclasm. Further, many of the figures are meant to represent foreigners and barbarians and evil spirits, and their features have been studiously made un-Hindu. A good example of this is the representation of *Yakshas* and *Yakshinis*, which occur again and again. The *Yaksha* and *Yakshini* have been the theme of Indian mythology and folk-lore, poetry and romance, throughout literature. They are always connected with the Himalayas, and treated not only as foreign but also mischievous. Now, if the Himalayan people are represented with snub-nose, credit is due to the artist, but no credit can be given to ethnology which makes the sculptor identical with the sculptured, the virtue with the dreaded evil. The point becomes clearer if we take the life-size female statue discovered at Patna. The *Bharhut Yakshini* is ugly, heavy and repulsive, while the statue lately discovered is as perfectly Aryan as it could be, with the poetic *tribhanga*, a beautiful nose, small chin and the Aryan head.<sup>1</sup> This is the type which the *Jātaka* describes<sup>1</sup> as the statue of motherly woman which decorated

<sup>1</sup> *JBORS.*, 1913, pp. 102; *J.* VI, 132.

royal courts and deceived people in darkness as a living figure. One is the representation of the home type and the other foreign. In Indian art there is a tendency to devote pointed attention to the foreign and queer, as the Hindus do to-day in their national pageants. The man which the Hindu saw every day, namely, one like himself, did not interest the artist and his public so much as the outlandish, the uncommon, the *dwarf*, the *lion-rider*, the *snake-man* and the *snake-woman* the *Yaksha*, the *Abyssinian*, the mischievous alien slave. Incidentally when the Sāñchi or Bharhut artist has come to deal with his own kings and queens, women and boys, ascetics and trees, the virtuous elephant, and the surgeon monkey, he has anticipated this ethnological controversy. I venture to challenge any one to show the snubnose or the high cheek bone or any outlandish element in those representations.<sup>1</sup>

§ 186. With regard to the general suggestion as to the Mongolian basis of India's population "as late as the early centuries A.C.," no amount of "it is possible"<sup>2</sup> or opining can satisfy me or one who reads in the *Mahābhāṣya* that

*Alleged Mongolian basis of Indian population in early centuries, A.C.*

<sup>1</sup> Some of these reliefs were evidently prepared from designs executed by other hands and it is that what is implied by the expression *rūpakaśrama* prepared by the ivory carvers of Vidish (विदिशके दशमरूपे कृतम् ३६). In such cases the word sculptors as used by me above is not quite suitable.

My friend Mr. Pandey has drawn my attention to Prof. Grünwedel's conclusion on the subject which runs as follows:—

"The different peoples that lived side by side in India were distinguished from one another above all physically: contact with peoples of higher Asia in the time of Ashoka revealed new types, and thus we undoubtedly see an attempt, for instance, to represent foreign nations in the equestrian groups that adorn the Sāñchi gateways.

"On the eastern gate, for example, besides mythical foreign peoples two figures are represented riding on horned lions. One of the heads is clearly not of the Aryan type: the woolly negro-like hair and the thick curve shape of the whole head surprise one; this same figure holds a bunch of grapes in his hand..... The whole series of these figures—those mounted on goats, on dromedaries, on lions—present a distinct contrast to the Hindus riding on elephants.....

"The great majority of the other reliefs at Sāñchi present the Hindu type—a long head with full round face, large eyes and thick lips. At Bharhut the same type appears but it is somewhat harsher," *Buddhist Art in India*, Trans. by Burgin, p. 33-34.

<sup>2</sup> E. g., *Ind. Ant.*, 1906, p. 290.

the Brahmin still had fair eyes and fair hair (गौरः पिङ्गलः कपिलकेशः on P., V. 1115) and who reads in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa that the Vaiśya was still Śukla or white and who reads in the Dharma-Sāstras that the Śūdra woman was still the 'black beauty' of the land. The republics, as we have seen, had Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The Greeks saw them and admired their physique from their point of view. They could not have praised snub-noses. An ounce of evidence is weightier than tons of theories, be it ethnology or Indology.

§ 187. The Lichchhavis whose form of republican government was noticed by orientalists in the first instance, attracted much attention and curiosity, and gave rise to various speculations. Mr. Vincent Smith wrote a short paper on "Tibetan affinities of the Lichchhavis."<sup>1</sup> This paper is referred to in successive editions of Mr. V. Smith's History, and has been often taken by others as having established its thesis.

Mr. Smith bases his theory, firstly, on an alleged custom of exposure by the Lichchhavis of dead human bodies, a custom which he says also prevails in Tibet; and, secondly, on judicial procedure of the Lichchhavis which he thinks has a very close resemblance with the procedure followed in Tibet. An examination of the two data shows that the exposure of the dead as "the usage of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī" "in ancient times"<sup>2</sup> has existence only in mistaken imagination, and further that there is not even a remote resemblance in the two judicial procedures.

Mr. Smith relies on a Chinese legend saying that the Buddha at Vaiśālī observed a cemetery under a clump of trees and had the cemetery described to him by Rishabha: "In that place, the corpses of men are exposed to be devoured by the birds; and there also they collect and pile up the white bones of dead persons, as you perceive; they burn corpses there also and preserve the

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, pp. 233-26.

<sup>2</sup> *Early History of India*, 3rd ed. p. 152.

"bones in heaps. They hang dead bodies also from the trees ;  
 "there are others buried there, such as have been slain and put  
 'to death by their relatives, dreading lest they should come to  
 "life again ; whilst others are left there upon the ground that they  
 "may return, if possible, to their former homes."<sup>1</sup> Now this, is  
 the passage (I have quoted it in full) upon which the whole theory  
 of the exposure of the dead is based and on the basis of which  
 Mr. Smith has considered the Lichchhavis to have been of  
 Tibetan origin. The passage is from a legend in China of about  
 1,000 years later than the time of the Buddha, and as such  
 it is worthless as a piece of historical evidence for contem-  
 porary details. But the passage, however, as it stands, is  
 innocent. To one acquainted with the standard dramas of  
 Sanskrit literature and the social and religious customs of  
 the orthodox Hindus as they have prevailed, the passage  
 connotes differently, in its natural way. A typical *Śma-  
 śāna*, 'cremation ground,' is what is described. In some  
 cases, as it is enjoined in the Dharma Śāstra a dead body  
 cannot be burnt but has to be either buried or exposed, or in  
 the language of Manu, "to be thrown in the forest like a log  
 of wood"<sup>2</sup> (and for that I hope no one including orientalis-  
 t would dare to call the author of the Mānava Code a 'Tibetan or  
 Pārsi'). Dramas and fictions in Sanskrit are full of allusions  
 to men being executed at the *Śmaśāna* and people hanging  
 themselves by a tree in the *Śmaśāna* grounds. The practice  
 of laying the dead body in hope of recovery is observed even  
 to-day.

§.188. As to the alleged 'close resemblance' which according  
 to Mr. Smith 'is impossible not to perceive' in the matter of  
 the two criminal procedures, I quote in the footnote<sup>1</sup> the whole

<sup>1</sup> Beni, *Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha*, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> Manu, Ch. V, verse 69.

<sup>1</sup> Tournier, the authority of Mr. Smith on the Lichchhavi procedure, says thus :

'On this point, the *At-Bhulathā* contains this note.

"In ancient time, the Wajjia rulers on a person being brought and presented to them,  
 thus charged "this is a malefactor" without at once deciding "he is a malefactor," dispose

passage about the two procedures in Mr. Smith's own words. A mere comparison by both lawyers and laymen would show that it is impossible 'to perceive' the alleged 'resemblance.' I may here refer the reader to the interpretation of the Liechhavi procedure given above and its comparison with the procedure

of him accordingly. They surrender him to the *Wanchekhiye mndumtsh* (chief judicial officers). Having examined him, if they conceive "this man is not a culprit," they release him. If they decide "this is a malefactor" without awarding any penalty, they transfer him to the *Wokriid* (learned in the customs or laws). They also having investigated the matter, discharge him, if he be innocent; but if he be guilty, there are certain officers called *Satadkhor* (maintainers of the custom) to whom they transfer him. They also inquire into the matter and discharge him, if he be innocent; but if guilty, they transfer him to the *Aghakulak*. They also having observed the same procedure, transfer him to the *Sengpati* (chief minister), he again to the *Upadja* (seeking; the *Upadja* to the right). The *right* enquiring into the matter, if he be innocent, releases him, but if he be guilty, he causes the *Pandapathakha* (book of precedents or examples) to be propounded. There it is written, to him by whom such a crime is committed, such a punishment is awarded. The *right* having measured the culprit's offence by that standard, pronounces a suitable sentence. [*JASB*, 1838, I. 393-4].

On this Mr. V. Smith observes:

"The stages in this complicated procedure are eight in number, namely:—

- 1 Arrest and production of prisoner before the 'mules.'
- 2 Enquiry by the *Wanchekhiye mndumtsh*.
- 3 Do. do. *Wokriid*.
- 4 Do. do. *Satadkhor*.
- 5 Do. do. *Aghakulak*.
- 6 Production before the *Sengpati*.
- 7 Do. do. *Upadja*.
- 8 Final judgment by the *Right*, who is bound to follow fixed written rules in awarding the penalty.

"The stages in the Tibetan procedure, as described by Babu Sarat Chandra Das, [*Proc. ASB*, 1894, p. 5] are exactly similar:—

1. The accused person is arrested, and sent to the lock-up;
2. He is watched, treated kindly, and mildly interrogated;
3. He is subjected to a mild but minute interrogation called *Jual* and his answers are noted down;
4. He is examined more strictly and whipped at intervals; this is called *Tekandi*;
5. If he makes any kind of confession, true or false, he is subjected to further prolonged examination, repeated whippings, and cruel tortures of various kinds;
6. If the case is serious and the Government assumes a party, he is taken to the Kalon or Ministers' Court;
7. This Court suggests to the *Ngpal-choke* (Regent), which is the highest Court of

of the *gaṇa* as mentioned in the *Mahā-Bhārata*.<sup>1</sup> The *Licchhavi* procedure was based on rules which were normally common to *gaṇas*.

There are circumstances which when taken into consideration, leave no doubt as to the Hindu nationality of the *Licchhavis*. Both the *Videhas* and the *Licchhavis* had a common national designation 'the *Vrijis*.' In other words, they were two branches of the same nation. No one responsible will venture to suggest that the *Videhas* were also Tibetans. The very colonization of Northern Bihar by the Vedic *Videhas* is recorded.<sup>2</sup> If the *Videhas* were pure Hindus, a centre of Upanishad philosophy and orthodox theology, the *Licchhavis* who were a ramification of the same nation could not have been barbarians. The *Licchhavis* were at *Vaiśālī*. And the *Purāṇas* as we have seen connect the *Vaiśālas* like the *Videhas* with a well known Aryan dynasty. They were not 'unanoited' rulers, a term applied by Hindu writers to barbarians settled in India. The *Āṅguttara Nikāya* contemplates the *Licchhavi* rulers to be "unanoited" rulers, i.e., *abhishikta*; like any other *Kshattriya* rulers. The *Jātaka* mentions the celebrated lake which was jealously guarded and in which the *gaṇa* (republican) rulers obtained their *Abhisheka*.<sup>3</sup> The Buddhist literature unanimously treats them as good *Kshatriyas*.

§ 189. Their name according to the rules of grammar is a derivative of the word *Licchhu*, i.e., the followers or descendants of *Licchhu* which in Sanskrit would be *Likṣhu*. *Likṣha* means a mark and *Likṣhu* is connected with it. The name might have originated on account of some feature-

the Country, that one of the three punishments mentioned in the decision may be approved;

2. The sentence may be mitigated, commuted or reversed by the *Dalai Lama* only.

The Regent has no power to do more than select one of the three punishments suggested by the Court of Ministers." V. Smith, *Fed. Aut.* 1903, p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> See above pp. 123-4, 130.

<sup>4</sup> *Saṅgīta*, I. 4. 1. 10, ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ante* p. 51 n.

marks. The name Lakshmaṇa is a similar instance. *Lachchhu* in Bihar and the Doab is a very common name to-day denoting the same thing. A man born with some prominent black or blue mark on his person easily acquires the name.

§ 190. The Mallas, neighbours of the Licchhavis, are styled *Vāsishṭhas* in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*,<sup>1</sup> and *Vasishṭha* is a well-known Aryan *gotra* name. The *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* is not the work of crafty Brahmins of the type reputed to concoct Aryan genealogies for barbarian rulers.

§ 191. There is some discussion about the origin of the *Śākya*s also. Now the testimony of the *Pāli* authorities is unanimous that the *Śākya*s were a branch of the *Aikshvākas*. This is admitted by the adverse side, the *Purāṇas*, which place the Buddha, his father and his son, in the *Lkshvākū* house. Contemporaries of the Buddha amongst whom was *Ajāta-Satru*, king of *Magadha*, claim him as a *Kshatriya*.<sup>2</sup> As we have seen in the history of the formation of new republics and the *Purāṇic* detail about the *Yaudheyas* and *Madras*, the state-community was called after the leader. We find the same origin of the *Śākya* Community given by the Buddha himself.<sup>3</sup> That history of origin agrees with the ascertained history of similar republican foundations. That history therefore should be accepted—that a cadet of an *Aikshvāka* king founded the *Śākyan* republic christened after his name.

§ 192. The tradition of an ancient and obsolete custom of sister-marriage amongst the *Śākya*s had misled some scholars into theories of race-origins. Such ancient and once living custom or law is accepted by the *Vedic* literature to have existed in the orthodox race. Buddhist tradition also does not limit it to the *Śākya*s. It extends it to the *Lkshvāku* royal dynasty

<sup>1</sup> *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, V. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, V. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*, 16.

and the Ikshvākus were not new comers; they were never desacramented. They are as ancient as the Vedas. If the Ikshvākus were Aryan, their offshoot the Śākyaas cannot be otherwise.

§ 193. The evidence of the Greeks who actually saw many Indian republicans is as decisive as any other fact. They describe the handsome looks and tall stature of the Punjab and Sind republicans. Snub-nose of the Himalayan Mongoloid could have never been described as a handsome feature by the Greeks, who, I think, must be taken as good judges in these matters. Nor could the stature of the Himalayan be mistaken by the Greeks to be majestic. The very description proves perfect and pure Aryan type of the Hindu. All these republicans are expressly mentioned by them as Indian.

§ 194. The names of the republicans are another internal evidence of their Hindu origin. The Kathaians or the Kāṭhas are a Vedic people to whom the Kāṭha recension of the Yajur-Veda and the Kāṭha Upanishad owed their origin. The Madras are not simply known to Vedic literature but are known as a home of orthodoxy where men like Śvetaketu went for post-graduate studies in sacrifices. There is a definite history of the origin of the Yaudheyas and Madras as noticed above. The 'Kshatriyas' were *par excellence* Kshatriyas. The Vṛishnis are not only Kshatriyas but sacred Kshatriyas, the Vedic Satvata Yadus. As to the names like the Ārjunāyanas, and the Śālaṅkāyanas, etc., the names are proof positive of orthodox origins. The rules of Pāṇini stamp the formation with orthodoxy.

§ 195. Orthodoxy has, so to say, anticipated the controversy and has already set its seal on the orthodox origin of these republics. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa describes the Vedic rituals with which the republican Madras,

the *Satvats*, the *Kurus*, and others were consecrated to political rule, and with which the constitutions *Bhāujya* and the *Svārājya* in the west and south-west and *Vairājya* by the side of the Himalayas received sanction.

§ 196. Whatever the race-origins of a particular republican community, the system was Indian and orthodox Indian. It goes back to the time of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and earlier. That democratic and republican states were experiments of the *Hindus* themselves, who at times had been regal and in turn republican, is further proved by what *Megathenes* saw and learnt in the country twenty-two centuries before (§ 18).



## APPENDIX A

### The Maha-Bharata on the Andhaka-Vrishni-Samgha

§ 197. The *Sānti Parvan* in its Ch. 81 records a discussion on the affairs of the *Andhaka-Vrishni league*. It is called an 'ancient history' although it is put in the mouth of Bhīshma, a contemporary. Kṛishṇa puts his difficulties as the *Vrishni-leader* before his friend Nārada, and the latter gives his solution. The discussion is important as showing:

- (a) that there were two political parties in the joint *Samgha* or *Federal Parliament*, each of which tried to gain the upper hand in political matters;
- (b) that there were sharp discussions in their parliament or council, and Kṛishṇa was attacked, and he attacked others in return, for Nārada rebukes him for not having a tactful tongue;
- (c) that at the time to which the history relates Bābhru Ugrasena<sup>1</sup> and Kṛishṇa were the elected Presidents;
- (d) that the republican leaders were mostly related to each other, and that Kṛishṇa was not equal to the influence or intrigue of his relatives. Āhuka on the side of the *Vrishnis* and Akṛūra on the side of the *Andhakas* seem to have led the *Federal Diet*. [These two, according to the *Sabhā-Parvan*<sup>2</sup>, had

<sup>1</sup> महाभारी नामावली: *Mahābhārata*, on P. IV, I. 114, Kielhorn, II, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. XIV, 33—34.

contracted a political marriage between their families.]

I give below the text and translation of the discussion.

भीष्म उवाच ॥

अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीममितिहासं पुरातनम् ।  
संवादं वासुदेवस्य महर्षेर्नारदस्य च ॥ १ ॥

वासुदेव उवाच ।

नामुद्धत् परमं मन्त्रं नारदाहंति वेदितुम् ।  
अपण्डितो वाऽपि सुहृत्पण्डितो वाप्यनाम्नवान् ॥ २ ॥  
स ते सौहृदमास्थाय किञ्चिदब्रुवामि नारद ।  
कृत्वा बुद्धिं च ते प्रेक्ष्य संपृच्छे त्रिदिवज्जम् ॥ ३ ॥  
दास्यमेवैवादेन ज्ञातीनां वै करोम्यहम् ।  
अर्धभोक्ताऽस्मि भोगानां वाग्दुरुक्तानि च क्षमे ॥ ४ ॥  
अरक्षौमन्निकामो वा मृष्याति हृदयं मम ।  
वाचा दुरुक्तं देवर्षे तन्मां दहति नित्यदा ॥ ५ ॥  
बलं सकृर्षणे नित्यं सौकुमार्ये पुनर्गते ।  
रूपेण मत्तः प्रयुन्नः सोऽसहायोऽस्मि नारद ॥ ६ ॥  
अन्ये हि सुमहाभागा बलवन्तो दुरासदाः ।  
नित्योत्थानेन संपन्ना नारदान्यकृष्णाय ॥ ७ ॥  
यस्य न स्वनै वै स स्वादास्य श्वः कृत्स्नमेव तत् ।  
द्वयोरनं प्रचरतीवृणोम्येकतरं न च ॥ ८ ॥  
स्वातां यस्वाहृक्काकूरी किं तु दुःखतरं ततः ।  
यस्य चापि न तौ स्वातां किं तु दुःखतरं ततः ॥ ९ ॥  
सोऽहं कृतवमानेव द्वयोरपि महासुने ।  
नेकस्य जयमागमे द्वितीयस्य पराजयम् ॥ १० ॥  
ममैवं क्रियमानस्य नारदोभयदर्शनात् ।  
बहुमहंसि यच्छ्रेयो ज्ञातीनामात्मनस्तथा ॥ ११ ॥

नारद उवाच ।

आयदो द्विविधाः कृष्ण बाह्याश्चाभ्यन्तराश्च ॥  
 प्रादुर्भवन्ति वार्ष्णेयं स्मृता यदि वाऽन्यतः ॥ १३ ॥  
 सेयमाभ्यन्तरा तुभ्यमापत् कृच्छ्रा स्त्रकर्मजा ।  
 भक्तूरभोजप्रभवा सर्वे श्रोते तदन्वयाः ॥ १४ ॥  
 अर्घ्यहेतोर्हि कामाद्या वीरवीभक्त्याऽपि वा ।  
 आत्मना प्राप्तमेतद्यमन्त्रत्र प्रतिपादितम् ॥ १५ ॥  
 कृतमूलमिदानीं तत् क्षाति-शब्दं भृशायवत् ।  
 न शक्नोति पुनरादातुं आत्माभश्च मयं स्वयम् ॥ १६ ॥  
 बभूवसेनतो राज्यं नास्तुं शक्नोति कथंचन ।  
 क्षातिभेदभयात्कृष्ण त्वया चापि विशेषतः ॥ १७ ॥  
 तच्च सिध्येत्पुण्यत्वेन कृत्वा कर्म सुदुष्करम् ।  
 महाक्षयं व्यथो वा स्वाहिनाशो वा पुनर्भवेत् ॥ १८ ॥  
 अनायसेन शक्तेन हृदुना हृदयच्छिदा ।  
 जिह्वासुहृदं सर्वेषां परिरुज्ज्वानुमृज्य च ॥ २० ॥

वासुदेव उवाच ।

अनायसं मुने शक्नोति हृदुं विद्यामहं जयम् ।  
 येनैवासुहृदे जिह्वां परिरुज्ज्वानुमृज्य च ॥ २० ॥

नारद उवाच ।

शक्याश्चदानं सततं तितिक्षाऽऽजं वमादवम् ।  
 यथार्हं प्रतिपूजा च यथैतदनायसम् ॥ २१ ॥  
 ज्ञातीनां वरुणकामानां कटुकानि लघूनि च ।  
 गिरा त्वं हृदयं वाचं शमयस्व मनीषि च ॥ २२ ॥  
 नामहापुरुषः कश्चिन्नानात्मा नासङ्गाश्च वान् ।  
 मङ्गतीं धुरमादाय मसुदाम्योरसा वर्हेत् ॥ २३ ॥  
 सर्वे एव मुहुः भारमनङ्गान्बहूनि समे ।  
 दुर्गे प्रतीतः सुगन्धो भावं यद्वति दुर्द्वजम् ॥ २४ ॥

भेदादिनामः सङ्गानां सङ्गमुखीसि केशव ।  
 यथा त्वां प्राप्य नोक्सीदेदयं सङ्गस्तथा कुर्व ॥ २५ ॥  
 नान्यत्र बुद्धिचान्तिभ्यां नान्यत्रेन्द्रियनिबन्धात् ।  
 नान्यत्र धनधन्यामादगुणः प्राप्तेऽवतिष्ठते ॥ २६ ॥  
 धन्यं यशस्वमायुष्यं स्वपत्नीप्राप्तये सदा ।  
 ज्ञातीनामविनाशः ध्यायथा कृण्वे तथा कुर्व ॥ २७ ॥  
 धायत्वां च तदात्वे च न तेऽस्त्वविदितं प्रभो ।  
 वाङ्मुख्यस्य विधानेन यात्रा यानविधौ तथा ॥ २८ ॥  
 यादवाः कुरुरा भोजाः सर्वे चान्यकहृण्ययः ।  
 त्वय्यायत्ता मडावाहो लोका लोकेश्वराय ये ॥ २९ ॥

B h i s h m a said :—In this connexion (on relatives in politics) this *old history* is quoted—this dialogue between Vāsudeva and the great sage Nārada (2).

Vāsudeva said :

Nārada, matters of state-counsel of vital importance can neither be made known to one who is not a friend, nor to a friend who is not an expert, nor even to an expert if he is not of master mind (3).

As I find the right friendship in thee on which I can depend, I want to speak something to thee, Nārada. In view of thy all-embracing intelligence, I want to put a question to thee, the happy one! (4).

Rulership (Aīśvarya) it is called, but really it is *slavery* to relatives that I am performing. Although I am entitled to the *half of executive powers*, I have only got to suffer bitter speeches (5).

My heart between cruel words, O Divine Seer, is like the Araṇi (wood) which a man, desirous of producing fire, is twirling. It is consuming me every day (6).

(Although) Saṁkarṣhaṇa is always noted for strength and Gada for princely qualities, and Pradyumna is even handsomer than me, still I am without a following, O Nārada.—(7)

Other Andhakas and Vrishnis indeed are endowed with great prosperity and might and are redoubtable. They are, Nārada, always full of [political] energy (*utthāna*)—(8).

For him, in whose favour they are, there is every thing. If they are not so, then one cannot exist.

As regards Āhuka and Akrūra, if they are in one's favour, there is no greater misery for that man. And if they are not in one's favour, there is no greater misery for him either. I cannot elect the party of the either.—(9-10).

I am between these two, Great Sage, like the mother of two gamblers (gambling against each other) who can neither desire the victory of the one nor the defeat of the other.—(11).

Now, Nārada, take into consideration my position and also the position of my relatives and tell me please what may be beneficial to both. I am distressed.—(12).

Nārada replied :

[In a republic] dangers are of two kinds. Krishna, the external ones and the internal ones, or, those which are created internally and those which arise from elsewhere.—(13).

It is the internal difficulty which is present in this case. It is the result of (the members') own acts. The following of Akrūra the Bhoja, with all these families from (hope of) material gain, from caprice or from envy of bravery,<sup>1</sup> have transferred the political power [lit 'rulership'] obtained by them to some one else.—(14-15).

The authority which has taken root already and which is fortified with the title of relatives<sup>2</sup> they can not take back like vomited food. They can in no way take back government from Babhru Ugrasena for fear of disunion with a relative. And you especially cannot (help them), O Krishna.—(16-17).

<sup>1</sup> Or, 'terrible speech' : See p. 192, footnote.

<sup>2</sup> Adopted from Pratap Chandra Roy's Translation.

And if that is even done (Ugrasena is driven out of a u t h o - r i t y i.e. presidentship), by doing a bad (illegal) act, there would be fear of serious loss, waste, and there may be even a fear of destruction.—(18).

Use then a weapon which is not made of steel, which is very mild and yet capable of piercing all hearts, sharpening that weapon again and again, rectify the tongues of relatives.—(19)

Vāsudeva said :

What am I to understand, O Sage, by that weapon which is not made of steel and is mild, and sharpening which I have to employ in rectifying their tongue.—(20).

Nārada said :

The weapon which is not made of steel is this : Recognition of merit in others and honouring them, mildness, straight-forwardness, toleration, and constant entertainment according to your capacity.—(21).

Of relatives who are anxious to speak, words which are bitter and light you should not really mind and you should by your reply appease their mind, sentiments and tongue.—(22).

None but a great man, one of master mind and commanding a following can successfully exert himself in carrying on high political responsibility.—(23).

Every ox can bear upon him a heavy burden and carry it on plain ground. It is only a noble and experienced animal that can carry a difficult burden through a difficult path.—(24).

Destruction of saṃghas (republics) lies in disunion. You are the leader of them, O Keśava. As the republic has got you (as president at present), act in the manner that the saṃgha should not decline.—(25).

Nothing but tact and tolerance, nothing but control of one's personal tendencies, nothing but liberality, are the qualities which reside in the wise man for the successful leadership of a republic.—(26).

Krishna, elevation of one's Party leads always to long

life, glory and wealth. Act in a way that destruction may not befall the relatives.—(27).

There is nothing, O Lord, in the matter of Future Policy and Present Policy as well as in the Policy of Hostility and in the Art of Invasion, in employing Foreign Policy, which is not known to you.—(28)

[Prosperity of] all the Andhaka-Vrishnis, the Yādavas, Kukurās, and Bhōjas—with their people and rulers of people,<sup>1</sup> depend upon you, O you of long arms.—(29).

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<sup>1</sup> *Iśvara* in the meaning of 'ruler' is a technical term, e. g., *Mahābhārata*, on P., VI. 1. 2., Kishore, III, p. 7. 'ईश्वर आश्रययति: दामाहानाश्चक्रुन् आनीशनां राजानां दामाहानां आश्रय आनीयन्तामिति'. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 365. See also *Goutama-Dh.*, S., IX, 63; J., I, 510, 'samrājya', 'sovereignty.'



## APPENDIX B

### *List of Indian Republics discussed in Part I.*

- 1 Agra-śreṇī (Agsinae)
- 2 Ambhashṭha (Ambastanoi, Sambastai)
- 3 Andhaka
- 4 Andhra
- 5 Aratṭa, Arishṭa (Adrestai)
- 6 Audumbara
- 7 Avanti (Dvairāṇya)
- 8 Ābhira
- 9 Ārjunāyana
- 10 Bhagala
- 11 Bharga
- 12 Bhoja
- 13 Brāhma guptā
- 14 Brāhmāṇaka (janapada) (Brāchmanoi)
- 15 Buli
- 16 Chikkali Nikāya
- 17 Dakshin-Mallia
- 18 Dāmani
- 19 Dāṇḍaki
- 20 Gandhāra
- 21 Glauchukāyanaka (Glaukanikoi, Glausai)
- 22 Gopālava
- 23 Jālmani
- 24 Jānaki
- 25 Kāka
- 26 Kāmboja
- 27 Karpata (Kharaparika)

28. Kaṭha (Kathaians)
29. Keralaputa
30. Kaundibṛisa
31. Kaundaparatha
32. Kaushṭaki
33. Koliya
34. Kshattriya (Kathroi)
35. Kshudraka (Oxydrakai)
36. Kukura
37. Kuninda
38. Kuru
39. Lichchhavi
40. Madra
41. Mahārāja (Janapada)
42. Mālava
43. Malla
44. Maupḍi Nikāya
45. Moriya
46. Muchukarṇa (Mousikani)
46. Nābhaka and Nābha Paṅkti
47. Nepal dvairāja
48. Nyasa (Akoubhi)
49. Parśva
50. Patala
51. Pāñchāla
52. Piṭinika
53. Prārjuna
54. Prasthala (Presti)
55. Pulinda
56. Pushyamitra
57. Rājanya (Janapada)
58. Rāshṭrika
59. Satvat
60. Śākya
61. Śālaṅkāyana

- 62 Sanakānika
- 63 Satiyaputa
- 64 Śayaṇḍa
- 65 Sāpiṇḍi-nikāya
- 66 Saubhūti (<sup>o</sup>ta) (Sophytes)
- 67 Śibi (Janapada) (Siboi); [ Mādhyamikeya]
- 68 Surāshṭra
- 69 Śādra (Śudrāyaṇa=Sodrai)
- 70 Trigartas
- 71 Uttara-kuru
- 72 Uttara-madra
- 73 Utsava-Saṅketa
- 74 Vasāti (Ossadioi)
- 75 Vāmaratha
- 76 Videha
- 77 Vṛji
- 78 Vṛika
- 79 Vṛishṇi
- 80 Yaudheya
- 81 Yona



## APPENDIX C

### Additional Notes on Part I (1924).

P 4—*ARTHASASTRA* (KAUTILYA)—Its authorship and date.

Recently the controversy about the date of this work has revived. Dr. Jolly (*Arthasāstra of Kautilya*, Lahore, 1923, Intro, pp. 1—47) has pronounced the work to be a piece of forgery of about the 3rd century A.C (pp. 43, 47): 'we might abide by the 3rd century as the probable date of the A.,' 'the real author was a theoretician' and Kautilya himself a 'fabulous minister' (p. 47).

#### (i) *Authorship.*

To take up the latter thesis first, Jolly's arguments are:

- (a) 'the traditional accounts of K. do not refer to K. in the capacity of a teacher or author of literary compositions,'
- (b) 'nor is his name ever mentioned by Megasthenes,'
- (c) 'nor does the latter writer's description of India bear out the theory that he was a contemporary of K.'
- (d) 'Patañjali in his Mahabhashya refers to the Mauryas and to the *śāstra* of Chandragupta, he is silent about K.'
- (e) 'K. is a mere nickname denoting falsehood or hypocrisy, which could hardly have been devised by the renowned minister of Chandragupta himself.'
- (f) 'Nor does the character of the work stamp it the production of a statesman, filled as it is with pedantic classification and puerile distinctions, like all the *Sūtras* composed by *Paṇḍita*.'

Jolly's *Conclusion*—"The real author" therefore "was a theoretician, no statesman but perhaps an official in a state of medium size" (p. 47). 'The ascription of the work to K. or Chāpakya was entirely due to the myth current regarding that fabulous minister who was looked upon as the master and creator of the art of polity and as the author of all the floating wisdom on the subject of *Niti*' (p. 47).

Argument (a) is contradicted by the latter portion of the conclusion, admitting that K. is traditionally regarded 'as the author' etc. Such tradition in literature does exist, e.g. Jaina—'Koṣṭhiliyam a false śūtra' in the Nandi Sūtra cited by Dr Shāma Sastry, AS. (1909), Upodghata, IX, and Sanskrit—Pañcha-tantra, Kamandaka, Dṛṣṭin ('revered teacher'), Medhatithi, etc.

Argument (b) is disposed off by the simple answer: where is the book written by Megasthenes? Find that first, as we cannot build a hypothesis on a book not yet found.

Argument (c) evidently refers to a theory started on the supposition that K. knows no large empire but only a small kingdom, as he has the maṇḍala or prakṛiti theory of neighbours and records the existence of republics and a policy towards them. The supposition is contradicted by fact: K. says that the Imperial tract (*śakravartī-kakhetra*)<sup>1</sup> lies between the Himalayas and the Ocean, 92<sup>2</sup> thousand yojanas in the straight line (as the crow flies). It is hardly possible to imagine a state without neighbours, a policy towards neighbours will have to be postulated by any statesman however large his empire may be. Then we know that there were a number of neighbours in the South who were reduced in the next reign—i.e., of Bindusāra.<sup>3</sup> When Chandragupta took the North-Western provinces from the Greeks, it does not follow that he took the land without its rulers, republics generally, who were existing under the system of Alexander. The *Saukya-epitā* lays down a policy towards the republics which it assumes to be under the king's sphere of influence, be they in (1) the Punjab (2) Afghanistan (Kamboja), (3) Western India, or (4) North Bihar. There were therein parties in favour of the suzerain and parties against him (AS). He was to sow the seed of dissension, patronize some, instal or depose one of the leaders (p. 376). Now we know that in no other than the early Maurya time Afghanistan, the Punjab, Western India and North Bihar at one and the same time were under the sphere of one Indian king. The fact that K. hardly tolerates sub-kings is one which is only compatible with the Maurya times. Under the Śauṅgas the imperial policy changes; it becomes largely feudal (see the local *vāḍās* in the inscriptions).

(d) Patañjali, it is true, does not refer to Kauṭilya. But Jolly ought to have shown any sūtra of Pāṇini or a Vārtika of Kātyāyana or a comment of Patañjali which could be the occasion of a mention

<sup>1</sup> IX. 1, p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> Śaṅkarācārya's reading, KNS, I. 39.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. O. R. S., II. 81.

of Kaṇṭilya. If Patañjali does not mention Bindusara, Aśoka, Rādhagupta or the Buddha, is that a reason to hold that they did not live? Patañjali was not writing history.

- (e) Names are not devised by the bearers: they are given by parents. It is difficult to get rid of names, and no sensible man cares to change an awkward name, e.g., *Śaṅkṛtepha*, *Pitṭa*, *For*. As it has been repeatedly pointed out,<sup>1</sup> *Kaṇṭilya* was a *gotra* name coming down from generations. The forefather who bore the name *Kuṇṭila* or *Kaṇṭila*<sup>2</sup> is answerable to Dr. Jolly and not Kaṇṭilya Viśvaguṇḍa. *Chāṇakya* (the name derived from the father according to Hindu literature<sup>3</sup>) is mentioned in a painted inscription in the Bijayagaḍh cave (Mirzapur) in Gupta script of the 4th century A.C., a photograph of which has been brought by Rai Saheb M. Ghosh, Curator, Patna Museum. It reads *Chāṇakya-roshah*.

- (f) If all the Śāstras composed by Paṇḍita have puerile distinctions and pedantic divisions, it is a literary fault of Kaṇṭilya's country; he could not escape the traditional mannerism in letters. The style of a certain European country is heavy and pedantically detailed in the eyes of other Europeans. That style, be the author a college professor or a statesman lecturing on statecraft, cannot be avoided by the native. To me, the details and theories of the AŚ are such that no theoretical writer, i.e., the contemptible 'Paṇḍit' could have written it. This is in fact admitted by Jolly when he says that the writer was probably an official knowing administration. The admission itself contradicts the 'Paṇḍit' 'theoretician' theory. 'The A. deals with internal and external policy and may be designated as an ancient Imperial Gazetteer of India, as a manual of political economy and polity' (Jolly, 1-2). Again, 'the general tendency of the A. is thoroughly realistic and worldly' (Jolly p. 5). The onus on Dr. Jolly is very heavy to prove that the author is some one other than the named and acknowledged (e.g., by Śaṅkarārya, Bāṇa, Daṇḍin, Kaṁandaka, and others) author of the work. Forgery is to be proved, not merely asserted, and proved by the party alleging it. It is for the reader to see if Dr. Jolly has discharged that onus. In my opinion he has not.

<sup>1</sup> J. B. G. R. S., II, 37-80, n.

(ii) *Date.*

Now let us take the theory of date.

One has to agree when Dr. Jolly, very rightly, says that there is a rare unity of plan and structure pervading the whole work (p. 5). The device beginning with contents and ending with the notes on the system of the work which unifies the whole work, and the cross references in the body of the work leave no doubt that the whole work is by one and the same author. There is also common ground when he shows that the book as we have it (I may add, but for faulty readings and copyist's mistakes) is the same which existed about 400 A. C. (pp. 8, 9, 12.) Thirty quotations in the *Tantrakhyaṇika*, and citations in later books prove it. Thus the question in controversy is reduced to this, when was the AŚ. written between 800 B. C. and 400 A. C. (This limit is further narrowed down by Jolly's view, rightly held, that Vatsyāyana had before him the AŚ. while writing the S, and he takes the time of the KS., to be "the fourth cen. or so," and consequently places the AŚ. in the third century A. C. (pp. 29, 43).)

*Arguments for the third century A. C. Date.*

Arguments of Jolly for the third century date are :

1. That both Kauṇḍilya and Bhaṣa have a verse (॥ १११॥ etc.) in common, and K. takes it as a quotation, hence he must have borrowed it from Bhaṣa whose date is 3rd cen. A. C. (p. 10).
2. That K. and Yājñavalkya agree in their laws; that K. therefore converts Y's. laws into sūtras (p. 17), and Y's. date is the same i. e. 3rd cen. A. C. (p. 47).
3. That the *Mahābhāṣya* nowhere mentions the A.
4. That the *Rajadharma* in the *Mahā-Bhārata* and the *Dharma Sūtras* is in an embryonic condition as compared with the A.'s detailed provisions and advanced condition of life (p. 30).
5. That the A. knows the *Purāṇas*.
6. That one of the *Kamaśāstra* sections, the *Vaiśika*, is mentioned by K. (p. 32).
7. That the A. knows technical terms of Sanskrit grammar and is acquainted with *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (p. 32).
8. That astrology and divination are known to it and two planets are mentioned by name in it.
9. That it knows a book on metallurgy called *śubhadrata śāstra* (on copper) (p. 33).

10. That it knows many technical treatises e.g. on mining, architecture, finance, jewels, alchemy, etc. "His work is the outcome of a long period of literary activity in the field of polity rather than the production of a creative genius—another reason for not fixing its age-limit too high" (p. 33).

11. That "the minister (K.) in the *Mudrā-Rākshasa* is probably a myth, why should not K. be mythical as well" (p. 34). 'The Greeks do not mention him. The rise of a new dynasty might have given a start to the invention of myths' (p. 34).

12. That K. refers to alchemy which was 'a late growth on the tree of Indian Science' (p. 34).

13. That K. mentions *Saranga* which is from the Greek term *Syrinx*.

14. That the description of India by Megasthenes and the Aśoka inscriptions do not show such an advanced stage as the A. (p. 31),

e.g. the A. knows state monopoly of mines, superintendents of mint, metal, mineralogy, chemical skill in producing coins, ornaments, etc., while Megasthenes refers to five metals only and Strabo says that Indians are inexperienced in the art of mining and smelting.

15. That the A. mentions written documents, while Megasthenes says that the Indians did not know writing.

16. That Megasthenes does not mention the premia on coins, taxes on gambling, liquors, road-cess etc. which the A. describes.

17. That the description of Megasthenes agreeing with the A. proves nothing as the A. agrees also with the Chinese pilgrims and Alberuni.

18. That Pataliputra is nowhere mentioned (p. 43). Geographical horizon of the author indicates that the book was written in the South from where it has been discovered.

19. That the A. gives the opinion of K. by name: this comes under the definition of *apadeta* of the A. proving that K. could not himself have written the work.

20. That the opinions of others cited are imaginary, the names being taken from the *Mahā-Bhārata* (pp. 31, 44).

#### *Examination of Jolly's arguments:*

1. The verse '*navam taravam*' etc. is a memorial verse used in exhorting soldiers in war. Exhortation to soldiers is as old as history; the verse is based on a primitive belief which is reminded thereby—that the

faithless soldiers will go to hell. If we consider the following point, it will be evident that it is not possible for K. to have borrowed from Bhaṣa, but that he must have borrowed either from some other book or as he implies, *सदीनी नवः*, from floating, current memorial verses. The point is that K. gives two verses and the *Navan* 3.<sup>2</sup> one is the second, reading after the first (X. 3). Without the first it is incomplete. Bhaṣa has only the latter one. How could it be said then that K. borrowed from Bhaṣa?

2. It is perfectly true that there is a close agreement between Y. and K. in law. I have discussed the point in my Tagore lectures. Here I shall take up only one datum which completely disposes of the question of priority. K. uses a term *Fakṭa* meaning an official, which occurs in Aśoka's inscription as *Fata*. The latter term none could understand before the publication of the A. as the term in literature subsequent to A. has gone out of use altogether. Y. could not understand it as used in the A.: *'द्व-सं-वाक्य'* 'an official act of a non-official' (as pointed out by Dr Shama Sastry in his first edition of the the A. Intro., p. X.), and he uses *yogya* 'proper' *सदीनी योग्यमज्ञः*, II 235) where K. gives *Fakṭa*, and *ayogya* 'improper' where K. has a-*yukta*. This can only be explained on the hypothesis that Y. versified the laws of K. and in places could not understand it. Jolly tries to meet this by saying that the demand for statement on oath being unauthorized was 'improper' and therefore the difference is purely nominal. But how could any one explain, even by straining, *सदीनी योग्यमज्ञः* 'an incapable man doing a work which should be done by a competent man' on the theory of 'nominal difference'?

Then, K. uses verses at times; if he was going to borrow from Y. why should he have turned verses into Sūtras? The more rational process is to versify sūtras, and Y. followed that. There is no case made out for supposing a reverse process.

As Y. is assigned to the 3rd cen. A. C., and *Fakṭa* has no long ceased to have the technical sense that a legal author could not understand it, the date of A. should be some centuries before 200—300 A. C.

3. Occasion for the mention of the A. is to be shown in the *Mahabhaṣya* before we can deduce anything from the silence. Many Vedic works are not mentioned by Patañjali, for that reason no one can say that they did not exist. He was not writing a history of literature.

4. The *Dharma Sūtras* deal with Dharma laws, while the A. deals with artha principles and laws. The subject of the DhS., is not political science but Dharma law. The subject of politics being

principal in one and incidental in the other, no comparison can be instituted for the purposes of chronology. I would demur to characterize the M. Bh. Rājadharmā as being in embryonic state; in the theory part it is more developed than the A. Then, every inferior writer does not change chronology. Some Tagore lectures after those of Dr. Jolly are far inferior; they for that reason could not be placed in a time earlier than his.

5. The oldest Dharma Sūtra knows Purāṇic literature. Āpastamba mentions the Bhaviṣhya Purāṇa (II. 24, 6, p. 98), and "Purāṇa" again in II. 9. 28, 3. The Bhaviṣhya existed according to Pargiter's researches very early. *Purāṇa* is mentioned as early as the Chhandogya Upaniṣad (II. 8).

6. The *Faiṣika* book was written by Dattaka at Pataliputra before Vatsyāyana. There is nothing to show that it or any other *Faiṣika* was not written before 300 B.C.

7. Knowledge of Pāṇini does not go against the 300 B.C. date of K. (See *ante*, p. 38, n.). Also note the pre-Pāṇinian use (*Gf.* Macdonell, HSL., p. 267 in the A. of *nāma ākhyāta*, *upasarga* and *nipāta* (II. 10)). In other words, Pāṇini's terms had not become established fully as in the time of Patañjali and later.

8. Divination is as old as the Atharva-Veda. The origin of astrology has been already shown to be Mesopotamian.<sup>1</sup> The Greeks and Hindus both borrowed from the same source. No argument of chronology can be based on the mention of two planets. The fact that the planets as they appear in Greek astrology and later Indian literature do not find place in the A. is an argument in favour of an early date for the A. Metallurgy, particularly knowledge of working copper, must have been known in a country where copper coins, silver coins, alloys in coins, 'white metal' (or nickel? brought to Alexander in the Punjab), bronze, iron, glass, etc. have been worked for centuries before Alexander and Chandra Gupta, as proved by the positive evidence of finds (punch-marked coins, utensils at Pataliputra and other places). Recently Rai Sahib M. Ghosh has found cast iron in the Maurya stratum at Pataliputra. Cast glass seals have been found with Maurya and pre-Maurya lettering by Dr. Spooner and the Rai Sahib at Pataliputra (JBORS, Sep. 1924). Seven metals are known as early as the Yajurveda (Yaj. S., XVIII. 13, XXIII. 37).

9-10. The argument is against the theory of fanciful quotations in the A. S. If there was a long previous literary activity, the quotations are

<sup>1</sup> JBORS, 1912, p. 604; *Ind. Ant.*, 1915 p. 112.

natural. If before the A., *i.e.*, before Alexander, there were technical treatises, K. could not make every science begin after the Greek invasion. Why should the existence of treatises be a reason to fix the date too low and not 'too high' (a term too ambiguous to meet) is not explained by the learned scholar.

11. It is not proved that 'Rakshasa' is a myth. From unknown to unknown is not a logical step. Further, if one minister is mythical why all others be mythical? If the Greeks do not mention him, it is K.'s ill-luck. Non-mention by the Greeks, though it may take away the distinguished character of a human being, cannot disprove the very existence of a man. Moreover, where have you got the complete writings of the Greeks (*i.e.*, Megasthenes)? Rise of a new dynasty *may* give rise to myths, at the same time it *may not*, or may on one point and may not on others.

12. Dr. Jolly knows the Hindu theory that alchemy was born in India before the Christian era'. In any case it is not yet proved where the so-called science first made its appearance. In connexion with alchemy in later Indian literature we have the mention of Constantinople (Rûma); if we connect the AS with later alchemy we have to come down to Muhammadan times. Jolly therefore has to postulate a probable "Greco-Syriac" origin and to place that hypothetical origin in the 1st cen. A.C. But one hypothesis cannot prove another. We must have a proven fact that alchemy is not original to India and that it was borrowed by India from a 'Greco-Syriac' original and from nowhere else. The very fact that we have alchemy before 300 A. C. in India shows that we have to give up the theory of Arabian origin and admit that there was an earlier stratum, either Indian or foreign. We cannot go further than that because nothing can be proved at this stage beyond that. *Rûma* and *Barbara* as found in later literature must refer to another and a subsequent importation.

13. Syriac was employed in sieges in India in Alexander's time. K. living both before and after Alexander's invasion can very well use the term. Besides, some Greeks had been living on the Indian frontier earlier and under the Persians in the Punjab, as Greek letters are found on Persian coins struck in India (see above, p. 147).

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\* Alberuni (XVII) gives the name of Vyâḍi before the Christian era. Vyâḍi must have had predecessors.

14. Aśoka's inscriptions do not undertake to give a gazetteer of the administrative system. Can any one attach the slightest importance to the Greek allegation that Hindus did not know smelting when we have coins, ornaments (e.g., the fine gold ring found at Pataliputra) cast iron, cast glass seals etc. of the Maurya and pre-Maurya times? The Greeks themselves mention the fine vases carried in front of Chandragupta and gold vine in his palace. If Megasthenes mentions only five metals, his knowledge is poor as in so many other instances (seven castes, writing, etc.). Seven metals are known to the Y. Veda alone. In the absence of his original book we cannot say what he actually said and of which part of India.

15. Megasthenes himself says that there were registers kept on the roads to find out distances and there were mile-stones. The Jatakas mention written tablets; seals, and inscriptions of Aśoka prove writing to have existed and been largely employed in the Maurya times. Could writing suddenly appear with Alexander? Aśoka two generations later publishing his inscriptions all over India (unless to be read by Greeks and explained to Indians!) and his father Bindusara writing to the Greek king disprove the utterly untenable assertion.

16. Megasthenes' 'tax on articles sold' would include octroi and general taxes of the A. Besides, Megasthenes' work is not before us.

17. If agreement between Megasthenes and the A. proves nothing, how can disagreement prove anything?

18. The non-mention of Pataliputra proves nil. The trade route to the South for the sake of shell, diamond, gems, pearls, etc., was no doubt important. At the same time the A. mentions Kāśī, Nepal, Kukura, Lichchhavi, Malla, Kamboja, Kuru, Pūṣhala, Surāshtra, Madra etc. His horizon is predominantly Northern.

So many MSS. have come out in the South. Did all these authors (Bhāsa, etc.) belong to the South for that reason?

19. The A. being avowedly based on old works, and the Sūtra and Bhāṣya being combined in one treatise, every sūtra having original opinion of the author necessarily became *apadeta*. As Fleet has pointed out and almost every Hindu knows, it is a very ancient and even current practice to give the author's name in his composition in this country. It appears odd to a foreigner, but it is commonplace in this country.

20. As Mahamahopādhyaya Gopāpati Sastri has shown (A. S. II, intro.) quotations from Viśalakṣha and Brihaspati are extant in literature. I may add to them by pointing out quotations from Śukra (Uśana) and Brihaspati in the *Tisā* to the Nītivakyamṛita published by Paṇḍit

Nathūrgama Premin of Bombay, and from the Mānava AŚ. pointed out above (p. 8).

In the face of these quotations nobody will be heard to say that the authorities in the A. are imaginary.

Jolly has rightly ignored such untenable views as for instance 'that the style of the A. is not archaic' and 'that geographical data prove a late date.'

(iii) *New Arguments for the Fourth Cen. B. U. date.*

There are pieces of evidence in the A. which are compatible only with the fourth century B. C. date.

(i) The use of *Yukta* which is only known to the Maurya times, and the 'geographical horizon' in laying down the policy towards the republics can only refer to the Maurya times. In the first century B. C. and the 1st or 2nd century A. C. there was no power, no 'king' (for whom Kautilya wrote the Saṃgha Vyūtha policy) who had from Videha to Afghanistan under him.

(ii) Take again the term *Fapa*, meaning five years (II. 20). This is known to the Jyotiṣha Vedāṅga, and is not known to the literature of the early centuries including the Mānava Dharma Śāstra.

(iii) Take also the datum that the rainy season started in *Srāvapa* (Śrāvapa-prosthapadaśoḥa Varṣa), i.e., in the author's time the rainy

<sup>1</sup> Mention of *Chīna* is innocuous, for *Chīna* which invariably comes along with *Darada* or other Himalayan countries in ancient Sanskrit literature clearly refers to 'Silesia,' the Gilgit tribe still retaining the word and having mulberry tree and silk industry. See the article in Racy 'Brit. on 'China,' and the identification by Sir George Grierson in *LSI*, X, Part 4, p. 5, n. [But I would suggest that in this (Mans X 44) and similar passages, they are the great Shina race, still surviving in Gilgit and the vicinity.] It may be added that the Chīnas were regarded to have been of Kshatriya origin. They spoke a language of Sanskrit base as shown by the AŚ which says that the silks produced in China-country bore the names *kantya* and *chīnaputa*. Neither *kantya* nor *puta* (Skt *putra*) is a Chinese word. All the members of the group where *Chīna* occurs are Himalayan peoples. *Chīna* skins cannot jump over thousands of miles away into China. In the same Chapter (XL II) *chīna*-skins or skins are mentioned as coming from *Bālina*, which according to Bhagavaddatta is a Himalayan country. Gilgit and Cashmere still produce both skins and silk.

Interchange between *ch* and *ś* (*Sīna* = *Chīna*) is common to Shina, e.g. *puṣh-puṣh*.

Similarly, *śakanda* of the AŚ. (p. 78) is misunderstood as being connected with Alexandria on wrong philology. *Alexandria* becomes *śakanda* as in the *Milinda P.* A coral variety is called *śakandaka* in the AŚ. Any root-like thing is *kanda* in Sanskrit. A coral-shoot will be called *kanda*. *Aśa* means yellow (pigment, pigment-colour)—*śakandaka* = root-coral with yellow tinge.

season began in Śrāvapa, unlike today when it begins in the middle of Āshāḍha. Now, season falls back about one day and a half every century :—

“In consequence of this difference the beginning of Varsha, or the “rainy season, in the times of Alexander and Aśoka, would have “fallen just one month earlier than at present.”<sup>1</sup>

(iv) See also (AŚ., *ibid*) चाणक्ये नामि मध्याह्ने मध्याह्ने भवति. This could be written only in the North (Pataliputra) and not in the South.

(v) The political data taking us to the Maurya times, we have further materials to hold that the book could not have been written in the later Maurya times. The position of the Sakyas and Ājivakas could not be low as in the A. (III 20),<sup>2</sup> they being grouped together with or as Śūdra monks. Under Aśoka or his successors it was not likely that a law hostile to them would have been promulgated. Again, the sarcasm of Patañjali that the Mauryas were fond of money (gold), finds corroboration in the A. that the Maurya sovereign did institute ‘archas’ or worship for making money.<sup>3</sup> Now Aśoka could not have done it, he was too conscientious and religious for that. His descendants were also religious. The datum of Patañjali and the A. thus should refer either to Chandragupta or to Bindusara, and under both sovereigns K. served.

The heterodox Jaina and Buddhist and the orthodox Brahmin literatures assert that Kaṇṇilya was the minister of Chandragupta. The Buddhist and the Jaina books treat him as having been a rascal, debasing coins and making money, making conquests and killing men, etc. The Purāṇas, on the other hand, show him to be an able minister. How could such contrary and human details be given to a person imaginary? His condemnation and awkward Gotra name are proof to my mind of his historical existence. If we look into the A. it answers both characterizations of K., the heterodox and orthodox. He would put down the heterodox, and the heterodox would find him a bad man.

(vi) If the Purāṇas turn out to be true in asserting the existence of Chandragupta, why should we not believe them about Kaṇṇilya? If K. existed, why should we not take the book to be his, especially when we find the last but one verse in the book, giving the authorship, to have been in the book before Kaṇṇandaka who paraphrases it in his introduction?

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *Indian Eras*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Munich MS., Shamā Sastry's trans., p. 251 n.

<sup>3</sup> *I. A.*, 1918, p. 51

[Jolly, (though without assigning any reason) also takes the Sloka to be contemporary with the composition of the book.<sup>1</sup>]

(vii) If the book existed before Vatsyayana, and Kamandaka ascribed it to K., the onus is on him who wants to ascribe the authorship to another to prove that and disprove the evidence of the A. itself corroborated as it is by Vgt. and Kam., Dapdin and Medhatithi, Paścha T. and Tantra-akhyaṅka.

(viii) There is motive for promulgating a Dharma Śāstra ascribing it to a Rishi, but there is no such motive in ascribing a material book to another. Besides, Kaṁṭhya is not a Rishi. Earlier AS books had Rishis as authors. If a Paṇḍit writing the book wanted to foster it on another, he would have ascribed it to some Rishi and a name unloated by a large section of the community (Buddhists and Jains).

(ix) The Purāṇas seem to give a second name of Chandragupta as *Narendra*.<sup>2</sup> There is evidence that not only the name of the author is in the book, but also the name of the king, '*Narendra*,' whose monogram or mark '*Nareन्द्राङ्का*' is directed in the A. to be put on arms (V. 3, p. 247; see also मंत्र्य, II. 10).

(x) Only the empire of the early Mauryas could take note of exports and imports from Mahaviśi (AS. II. 11) (= Mahaviśa of the Veda),<sup>3</sup> the raisin wine *apides* of Afghanistan (Arachosia), the weights and measures of the Sibi (II. 19) and Mekala and Magadha at the same time, of Uttarapatha and Dakṣiṇapatha simultaneously, and provide punishment [from Pataliputra] for defaming the Gandhara country (above p. 156, n.). And only a minister very highly placed could have all the fiscal and military information which are contained in the A. Punishments for turning women into nuns, and for monks leaving families unprovided for could be laid down (II. 1) only in early Maurya rule of the first two emperors. Raising a prince on the unmarried daughter of a king (while even Niyoga is condemned in the Śuṅga times, *v.g.*, in the M. Dh. Ś.), knowledge of the epics different from the ones we have, and all indications of an early and pre-Śuṅga date.

<sup>1</sup> The first Sloka giving the author's name was in the book before Dapdin who gives the identical measure of the book just preceding and says that the work was composed as an abridgement by Viśaṅg-gupta for the Maurya, almost quoting the words of the A. as in the sloka and the previous passage.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, 1918, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *M & K*, V. I. II. 142, 345.

P. 6—Works of the 4th—5th cen. A. C. and the date of the *Kamandakīya*.

Quotations in the *Raja-N. Ratnakara* indicate that there was also a *Naradīya Raja-niti*. (See *Introduction* to the R N R, 1924, p. c.).

Nārada figures as a teacher of political wisdom in the *Mahā-Bharata* (*Sahya Parvan*), and he is not known to *Kamandaka*. The *Naradīya* thus probably came into existence before the sixth century and after *Kamandaka*.

*Kamandaka* cannot be put in the 8th cen. as done by Jolly and Winternitz (Jolly's A S., 46). It is earlier than the *Mahā-Bharata* for the reasons (1) that the latter knows it, (2) that the *Artha-Sāstra* book of the Great Rishis which was lost when the M. Bh. (SP.) was written, had been used by Kam. (as pointed out above, p. 6, a), and (3) the general style (cf. the *Narada-Smṛiti*)<sup>1</sup> indicating Gupta times. (4) The known date of *Bhava-bhūti* helps us further. *Bhava-bhūti* as ably shown by MM. Gupapati Sastri (A S., II, Intro, p. 7) knew his work; not only he knew *Kamandaka* but his audience also must have known his work as a well-established authority to be able to follow and enjoy the character "*Kamandakī*" like the "*Buddha-rakṣita*" and "*Avalokita*." *Kamandaka* must have published his work a few centuries before *Bhava-bhūti* (first half of the 8th cen.). The datum of the M. Bh. would place his lower limit in the fifth century A.C. Its earlier limit probably is the *Tantrakhyaṇika* which does not know it. The interval between the A S. and *Kamandaka* is large, for not only several subjects and topics in the A S. have become in Kam.'s time antiquated enough to be left out, a new group of authorities, unknown to the A S., had intervened.

There is a revival of the tradition of Chandragupta Maurya in Gupta times. Royal parents name their sons after him (thrice). Viśākhadatta compares him with Vishnu in his play written under one of the Chandraguptas of the Gupta dynasty (I. A. 1913 p. 265). Chandraguptan laws in the Kautilya are closely reproduced in the *Narada Smṛiti*. Chandragupta's *Artha-Sāstra* is verified and adapted in the *Kamandakīya Nitisara*. There is an ambition, partly realized, of founding a large empire from Pataliputra like that of Chandragupta Maurya. Kalidasa, a Gupta poet, says that the country becomes *Rājasaṁṛita*, 'possessed of a just king', only on account of the Magadhan emperor (*Raghuvamśa*).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the monetary system of Nārada (App. 56—60) which extends up to the Punjab and knows Diakra.

<sup>2</sup> To say this he has even to commit an anachronism, making the Magadha monarchy which came into existence only with Vasa (J. B. O. R. S., I) contemporary with Raghu.

P. 6.—Pushkara.

He figures also in the political science dialogue in the Vishnubharmottara (II). Probably he is only an ideal person and no author.

P. 6. 14th—18th cen. Digests.

To this class is to be added Vachaspati Miśra's Rajadharma (See *Intro.* to R N R., p. 4.) The commentary on the Nṛsīṅgasthiti, (the date of which must be earlier than its MS. copied in the 1463, *ibid.*) may be included in the class. The commentator does not restrict himself to the orthodox Dharma Śāstra view. He, trying to give all the original sources of Somadaya, really gives a small Digest of Artha-Śāstra.

P. 8—Works in Vernaculars.

Lalla Lal wrote a Hindi book based on the Hitopadeśa and the Pañchatantra and called it 'Rajantī.'

Page 15—Village fined.

See Vasishṭha Dharm Śāstra, III. 4—

चक्राग्रनर्पिताया वष भेदचरित्राः ।

३ नाम दण्डपेदाया चोरमजपदी हि नः ॥

P. 16— न का वषा ।

It is given also by Nārada (I. 18).

P. 26—*Gaṇa*.

The Vedic use of *gaṇa* is in the sense of 'company of soldiers'—  
गण गते वष दण्डम् (R. V., III. 26, 6).

P. 42—State-arms of the Republics.

*Lañchā* itself may be from *Lañā* with what is termed by Grierson as 'spontaneous nasalisation' (JRAS, 1922, pp. 381 ff.).

For *Lañā* see 'kṛita-Narendrakavya śāstravarāṇamayudhāgarāṇi pravacāyeta' in the A S., V. 3, p. 247.

Page 52—Decisions on rolls (Book of Precedents).

The Jātaka also knows such books of precedents. See J. III. 292, wherein the law-court precedents are entered: "*vinicchaya pāthakam lekhaṇpatra*." Probably Vasishṭha also refers to precedents in XIX. 10.

P. 53—Ashṭa-kulaka.

See R1, XV, 136, the Ashṭa-kula-adhikarāṇas as town corporation officials, and note in App. D, on Part II, pp. 105-8 below.

## P. 53.—'Lichchhavi.'

*Riksha* would also give both *Lichchhavi* and *Likkha*, but we get such forms for the Lichchhavis (cf. Jaina spelling *Lakkhar*) as point to *liksha*, hence, as the origin. Manu's *Nichchhavi* would be a local dialectical variation which is peculiar to Eastern India.

P. 63 *n*<sup>2</sup>—*नृक्ष* :

*नृक्ष*=Skt. *Chyav*, Avestan *Syar*.

P. 73.—*Jauhar*.

It is derived from either *Jata ghara* (the Mahā-Bhārata 'Jatugriha,' 'the house of lac,' made to entrap and burn the Paṇḍavas) as has been suggested, or preferably from *Jama-ghara* 'House of Death.' *Jauhar* is spelt as *Jama-kara* in the 'Kāuhaja de Prabandha' (a work in Old Rājasthāni), p. 94 (pointed out to me by Dr. Sunil K. Chatterji).

P. 81.—'Every man in the community had franchise' :—citizens *versus* non-citizens.

From a statement of Patañjali it is clear that in a republic there used to be slaves and artisans to whom the peculiar forms which denoted the citizens of a particular republic did not apply—*नैतन्नेषां दृष्टे वा नृसंस्मरे वा* (See above § 31, p. 35, *n*). This indicates that the artisans as well as slaves were not franchised. The Maachikaryas did not keep any slaves in their state (hence the legend in Megasthenes that there were no slaves in India).

P. 82 *n*.—*Kanninda* and *Kanet*.

Sir G. Grierson is also of the opinion that the *Kanet* should not be identified with the *Kannindas* (L. S. L. vol. ix, p. 6, *n*). The form *Kanet* is correct which was personally ascertained by me at Sipri (Simla).

## P. 87—Vahika physique.

On the physique of the Vahikas we may note that the Mahā-Bhārata in abusing their heterodoxy (probably they had then become Mahāyānist Buddhists) quotes a parody of a song of the Vahikas which shows that their women were large-bodied and that mutton was their favourite food. "When shall I next sing the song of the Vahikas in this Sakala town, "when shall I again, dressed in fine garments in the company of fair-complexioned large-sized women eat much mutton, pork, beef and the "flesh of fowls, asses and camels? *They who eat not mutton live in vain.*"

"So do the inhabitants, drunk with wine, sing. How can religion be 'found among such people?'"

At the time when the *Kāṭyāyana* (Ch. xlv) was written, evidently they had become heterodox, probably Buddhists, as it says, 'the Vāṅkṣas 'who never perform sacrifices, whose religion has been destroyed,' 'they are 'without the Veda and without knowledge.' They are orthodox in the Śatapatha Br. (1. 7. 3. 8, Grierson, LSI, 4 n. 8), in the Upanishads which describe Svetaketu going into the Panjab for religious tournament, and also evidently in P. ini.

#### P. 93—Madra Country

In medieval Indian tradition the Panjab, especially the northern part, was always called *Madradeśa*. Guru Govinda Singh in his "Vichitra Nāṭaka" says that he was brought from Patna, where he was born, to *Madradeśa* or the Panjab.

#### P. 109—Śaṭśāka:

'Pin' probably does not convey the full sense of 'Śaṭśāka.' Cf. *Akṣa-Śaṭśāka*, the Hindu dice. The Śaṭśāka was a small oblong piece which could come easily within the fist.

#### P. 150—Yandheya coin legends: *Bhagacata Śeṭṭhina* [h] :

*Brahmayya-devayya* (C. C. I. M. 181-92, C. A. I. p. 78) seems to be the correct legend. *Brahmayya* is not the name of the Yandheya king (Rapson, JRAS, 1903, 291), but the name of the god who in some coins is shown with six heads—Kārttikeya (as recognized by Rapson himself).

#### P. 153—Mālava Coin.

The variety of coins bearing single names and generally no legend of the Mālava Gaṇa found at the same place, are attributed to the Mālavas (C. C. I. M., 163, 174—177). Probably they represent the power which superseded the Mālavas. The names are so many puzzles—e.g., *Maraja*, *Jamapaya*, *Paya*, *Magaṇa*. They seem to be abbreviations—*Maraja*=*Mahā-rāja*; Cf. 'Mahārāja' (p. 177). *Jama* and *Jama* appear again and again (pp. 174, 176, *Jama-paya*, then *Paya* only). *Mapeṇaya*, *Mapaya* and *Magaṇa* (pp. 175, 176) are probably *Mahā-(Mahārāja) jaya*, *Mā. (Mahārāja) Paya*, and *Ma. (Mahārāja) Gaṇa*. Similarly, *Magaṇa*=*Ma. (Mahā°) Gaṇa* (*Gaṇa*), *Gajava*=*Gaṇa-pa*; *Ma go* (read *ga*) *jara*=*Ma. Gaṇa*; *Mapaka*=*Ma. Paṇa*; *Mā. (read mā) ṭapa*=*Ma. Śarpa*; *Magaṇka*=*Ma. Gaṇka*; *Majupa*=*Ma. Jupa* (*Yūpa*) *Bhāpamāna* (plate XX, 24) I read as *Bhāpāyana*.

Pp. 154-5.—Freedom in preference to home.

Cf. Manu, VII, 212 :

"Let a king, without hesitation, quit for his own sake even a country,  
"salubrious, fertile and causing an increase of cattle" (Bühler).

P. 156 n.—*Sanatantkas*. A 'Mahārāja' *Sanatantka* as a feudatory of Chandra Gupta II has left an inscription in the Udayagiri *Vaishnava* cave temple (Bhilsa, Gwalior) dated GS. 82 (401-2 A.C.). He is the son of a 'Mahārāja' and the grandson of a Mahārāja. GI., p. 25.

P. 158.—Ethnology of the republicans.

See R. Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races* (Rajshahi, 1916), pp. 24, 25, 240, 241.



HINDU POLITY

Part II

MONARCHY  
AND  
IMPERIAL SYSTEMS



IV

HINDU MONARCHY



## CHAPTER XXII

### HINDU MONARCHY

#### Antiquity and Theory of Origin

§ 198. The word Rājān and its original Rāṭ literally mean a ruler. It is connected with the Latin *rex*. But Hindu political theorists have given it a philosophic derivation. King is called Rājā because his duty is 'to please' (rāṇ j) the people by maintaining good government. This philosophic interpretation has been accepted as an axiom throughout Sanskrit literature. The kings also acquiesced in and accepted this constitutional interpretation of the term. Emperor Kharavela of Kalinga, who was a Jaina, says in his inscription (C. 165 B.C.) that he did *please* his subjects, 35 hundred thousand in number. In the Buddhist Canon the same theoretic definition is found: *dammena pare rañjetiti kho, Vāsēṭṭha, rājā*.<sup>1</sup> Both orthodox and heterodox branches of the race had adopted it. It was a national interpretation and a national theory of constitution.

§ 198A. Megasthenes, as observed before<sup>2</sup>, records the Hindu tradition current in his time that Monarchy was the earliest form of organised government in India. This is supported by the Rīg-Veda where Monarchy is the normal and the only form of government known. Monarchist writers, as we have seen, utilised this fact as an argument against non-kingly forms of constitution.<sup>3</sup> After monarchy, Megasthenes was told, republican experiments were made. As the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa puts it, it was in *the firmly*

<sup>1</sup> *Dīgha-Nikāya, Appaṇṇa Sutta*, 21, v. c. 111, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, § 18, p. 23. See also McOindie, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> See Pt. I, §§ 101, 176. Cf. नाराजकेन राज्येन वस्तुन्यसिति वेदिकम् । *M. B. S.* 62.5 (Kamh.)

*established* Mid-land<sup>1</sup> where monarchy held its own<sup>1</sup>; that is, the change from Monarchy to republican form to which Megasthenes alludes, did not occur there. This Mid-land was the land from Kurukshetra to Prayāga—the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges, which became the seat of the Aryan conquerors and Aryan monarchy. The Purāṇic history also confirms this. Its ruling houses cover the Middle Country, going beyond only in one direction—the East. The constitution of the East ('Prācīn') according to the Aitareya, was Sāmrajya,<sup>2</sup> which was a species of monarchy,—meaning, literally, 'a collection of monarchies,' i.e., a Federal Imperialism.<sup>3</sup>

§ 199. There are several theories known to Hindu literature on the origin of Hindu Kingship. A brief notice of those theories is necessary to understand the constitutional effect which they produced on practical administration.

Hindu Theories  
on the origin of  
Kingship:

§ 200. The Vedic theory is found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. It asserts that the Devas, i.e. their worshippers, the Hindus, originally had no king. In their struggle against the Asuras—when the Devas found that they were repeatedly defeated, they came to the conclusion that it was because

Vedic theory  
origin in war

1 See Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 14. दूतस्मिं प्रवासी मध्यमासी प्रतिहारी दिशि वे के च कुशास्त्रालानी राजानः स-वशोचोत्तरासीं तास्यापैव हेतुमिच्छन्ते । राजेस्तेषां अभिस्त्रिणासकृते ।

2 See below, Ch. XXXVII [Evidently at the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa the North Bihar Republics had not come into existence.]

3 Videha and Magadha. Janaka (probably a royal title and not a proper name) king of the Videhas, according to Vedic literature (Satapatha Br. xi. 2.1.2; see also उज्जमेव मज्जाह, Bri. Up., iv. 1. 1.) and Jarasandha, king of Magadha, according to the Purāṇas, were holders of the title Sāmrajī (M. B., See § 302).

the *A s u r a s* had a king to lead them, they were successful. Therefore they decided to try the same experiment. And they agreed to elect a king :

*"The Decas and Asuras were fighting...the Asuras defeated the Decas...The Decas said, 'It is on account of our having no king that the Asuras defeat us. Let us elect a king'. All consented."*

If it has a historical reference it would refer to the tribal stage of the Aryans in India and it would suggest that the institution of kingship was borrowed from the Dravidians. Whatever the historical truth in the theory, the important point to note here is that kingship is contemplated to be elective in its origin.

§201. Political writers, however, had a theory of their own which is confined more to the abstract side of the question.

Scientists' Theory of Contract. They held that the first king was elected on certain conditions or on a contract, and that the original contract was always enforced subsequently.<sup>1</sup> According to this view the election was necessitated for internal administration, the authority of law by itself, the people having refused to follow. This theory of contractual monarchy, which undoubtedly was a reflex of the express republican theory of contract,<sup>2</sup> found support in Vedic hymns and songs of royal election, in rituals of royal consecration which were based on elective principles, and in the

1 *Altureya Brâhmanya* I, 14. देवाहारा वा एषु लोकेषु समपतन्तः.....तांस्ततोऽब्रवा  
अजयन्.....देवा अयम् दक्षराजतया नै नो जयन्ति राजानं कलामहा इति तवेति ॥

2 See the discussion in the *Artha-Sâstra*, I, 2, pp. 22-23; also that in the *Mo d-  
Dhârata*, § 233.

3 See above, §§ 154-6.

Coronation oath which made the king swear that he should rule according to law.

These ceremonials were invariably observed even when succession to throne had become hereditary. In theory, according to these sacred ceremonies, the king, as we shall presently see, was always an elected officer holding office on conditions which he accepted in his Coronation oath. The contract theory of the politicians, as we shall see, was always believed in and accepted by both the ruler and the ruled.

Actual election at times did take place even in post-Vedic times. Megasthenes notes that after Svayambhū, Budha and Kratu, the succession was generally hereditary but that '*when a failure of heirs occurred in the royal house, the Indians elected their sovereign on the principle of merit*','

The Jātakas<sup>1</sup> have stories of election of kings and even the fables<sup>2</sup> of the country made animals elect their king. They indicate that the theory of elective kingship was a national theory widely current. Let us now take the sacred hymns of royal election of the Vedas and the Vedic kingship.

1 Mc Grindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 300.

2 The *Jātakas*, Vol I, p. 339.

3 See *Mahābhārata* (ed. Senart), vol. II, p. 70.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### Vedic King and his Election

§202. The king was elected by the people assembled in the *Samiti*. The people assembled are said to elect him to rulership unanimously. The *Samiti* appoints him. He is asked to hold the state. *It is hoped that he would not fall from his office.* He is expected to crush the enemies.

Here is a complete Song of Election.<sup>1</sup>

आ त्वाहायंमन्तरभूष्वस्तिष्ठाविचाचलत् ।  
 विशस्त्वा सर्वा वाञ्छन्तु मा त्वद्राष्ट्रमधि व्रशत् ॥ १  
 इहैवधि माप च्योष्टाः पर्वत इवाविचाचलत् ।  
 इन्द्रे ह्येव ध्रुवस्तिष्ठेह राष्ट्रसु धारय ॥ २  
 इन्द्र पतमदीधरदुध्र वं ध्रुवेण हविषा ।  
 तस्मै सोमो अग्निं ब्रवदयं च ब्रह्मणस्पतिः ॥ ३  
 ध्रुवा यौध्रुवा पृथिवो ध्रुवं विश्वमिदं जगत् ।  
 ध्रुवासः पर्वता इमे ध्रुवो राजा विशामसम् ॥ ४  
 ध्रुवं ते राजा वरुणो ध्रुवं देवो बृहस्पतिः ।  
 ध्रुवं त इन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च राष्ट्रं धारयतां ध्रुवम् ॥ ५  
 ध्रुवोऽच्युतः प्र सृजोहि शत्रुन्ध्रुवतोऽधरान् पादयस्व ।  
 सर्वा दिशः संमनसः सध्रीचीध्रुवाय ते समितिः कल्पतामिह ॥ ६

<sup>1</sup> *Atharva-Veda*, VI. 87—88. This hymn occurs also in *Rig-Veda* X. 178 with slight modification.

"Gladly you come among us : remain firmly without faltering ; all the people want you : may you not fall off the State.

"Here be you firm like the mountain and may you not come down. Be you firm here like Indra : remain you here and hold the State.

"Indra has held it ( the State ) firm on account of the firm Havi offering : for it Soma as well as the Brahmapaspati has said the same.

"Firm (as) the heaven, firm (as) the earth, firm (as) the universe, firm (as) the mountains, let this *rājā* of the people be firm.

"Let the State be held by you, be made firm by the *rājā* Varuṇa, the God Bṛihaspati, Indra and also Agni.

"Vanquish you firmly, without falling, the enemies, and those behaving like enemies crush you under your feet. All the quarters unanimously honour you, and for firmness the assembly here creates (appoints) you".

Here is a passage employed at the re-election of a *Rājā* who had been apparently driven out :—

त्वां विशो वृणतां राज्याय त्वामिमाः प्रदिशः पञ्च देवीः ।  
वर्षमन् राष्ट्रम् ककुदि ब्रयस्व ततो न उमो वि भज्जा वसूनि ॥

"The people elect you to rulership, the wide <sup>1</sup> glorious  
"quarters elect you. Be seated on this high point in the body  
"of the state and from there vigorously distribute the natural

1 The word पञ्च may mean either "wide" or "five". Here the former meaning is more appropriate because the people assembled could be only confined to the four quarters and not the sky. Quarter comes to Election Hymns as a figurative use for the people assembled.

2 Or 'like Uḡ : a ruler' ( म उदः ) See § 103 above.

wealth.” *Kakud* literally means the “hump” of the bull. The allusion is to the throne which is regarded as the highest place in the body-politic. The previous verse in the Mantra shows that the reference is to *Eka-rāṭ* or monarch.

§ 203. According to the last verse of a hymn in the *Rig-Veda* corresponding to the song of election quoted above,<sup>1</sup> he becomes the sole taker of taxes from the people; he becomes the king of the people. The ‘sole taker’ signifies that the regular tax, as a royal due, had already developed. No one else but the king alone was entitled to it. The king is asked to ascend a raised seat which is significantly described as the highest point of the body of state. It shows that the idea of state as organism is realised as early as the Vedic kingship.

§204. The new king after ascending the throne received from the assembled people and the ‘king-makers’ who according to later authorities<sup>2</sup> were high functionaries or ministers,<sup>3</sup> a symbolic armlet called *Maṇi*. It was made of *Palāśa* wood. These high functionaries were the Treasurer, the Commander of the Army, the *Grāmanī* or the leader of the township, and some others. They are called ‘kings’ and ‘king-makers’ by the newly elected king. The ‘king-makers’ thus appear to be communal or popular officers of state who were regarded as

1. *Atharvaveda*, III, 4, 2.

2.  $\text{भुवः सुवेद इषिषामि सोमं सुवामसि ।}$   
 $\text{अथो त इन्द्रः केवलीर्वियो वसिष्ठस्त्वरत्न ॥}$  *Rv. X. 173 A*

3. *Brāhmaṇas* and *Krishna Yajur*.

4. Cf. *Mahā Gāndhā Sutta*, 32, *Dīgha N. 11, 221*, where the six great nobles of the state are called the *King-makers*, *Rāja-hatthā*.

rulers, amongst whom the king was the chief ruler. They are called latterly *Ratnins* or those in whom the *Ratna* or *Mapi* is vested. For it was they who gave the king the symbolical jewel of royal authority. The king originally took the jewel of authority from all the folk present, including artizans and chariot-makers. This was the only symbolical ceremony which accompanied the Vedic election.

The king taking *Parṇa* or *Mapi* says :—

ये धीवानो रथकाराः कर्मार ये मनोविणः ।

उपस्तीन् पर्णं मया त्वं सर्वान् कृण्वमितो जनान् ॥ ६

ये राजानो राजकृतः सुता ग्रामपदश्च ये ।

उपस्तीन् पर्णं मया त्वं सर्वान् कृण्वमितो जनान् ॥ ७

“The skilful builders of chariots and the ingenious “workers of metal, the folk about me all, do thou, O “*Parṇa*, make my aids. The kings and king-makers, “the charioteers and leaders of hosts, the folk about me do “thou, O *Parṇa*, make my aids.”<sup>1</sup>

The king thus accepted his royal authority from the whole folk including equally the king-makers and the artisans.

Election for  
life-time.

The king was elected for his whole life. “*Rule here a mighty benevolent (king) up to tenth “decade of thy life.*”<sup>2</sup>

The throne was covered with the skin of a lion, tiger or leopard. This was done, as we shall see, even when the throne was made of precious materials. A particular symbolism was attached to the skin-cover. It was the emblem of prowess.

1 *Atharvaveda*, III. 5. 6—7 Translation adopted from Bloomfield *S.B.E.*, III, 114.

2 *Atharva-Veda*, III. 4. 7. दृष्टमोक्षुषा पुनना वनेद

"Thyself a tiger, do thou upon this tiger-skin  
"stride through the great regions. All the clans shall  
"wish for thee." When seated on the throne he was  
sprinkled with water.<sup>2</sup>

§205. At times he was degraded and  
Deposition and re-election banished. After a period of exile an  
ex-king was sometimes re-elected:

"The eagle shall bring hither from a distance him that  
"is fit to be called, wandering exiled in a strange land. The  
"Asvins shall prepare for thee a path, easy to travel! Do  
"ye, his kinsfolk, gather close about him.

"Thy opponents shall call thee. Thy friends have chosen  
thee."<sup>3</sup>

He is said to have come to agreement  
with his electors.

"Come thou to the Visas (the people), for thou  
hast "agreed concordant with the electors."<sup>4</sup>

1. *Ibid.* IV. 3. 4. व्याघ्रो अ॒ग्निं वै॒द्यान् वि॒कस॒न् दि॒शो म॒होः । वि॒शस्त्वा सर्वा  
वा॒न्सु॒तु...॥

2. *Ibid.* IV. 8. 5-6....तासीं॑ स्वा॒ सग॑सा॒मवा॒मि वि॒न्वामि॑ त॒र्वसा॑ ॥५॥ अ॒ग्निं त्वा  
वै॒शसि॑न्वा॒वापो॑ दि॒व्याः प॒यस्वतीः॑ ।...॥६॥ That the ceremony relates to monarchical Rajā

(Rajrāj) is clear from the *Śruti Sūtras* of the *Atharva Veda*.

3. *Ibid.* III. 2. 5. श्ये॒नो ह॒व्यं न॒वत्वा॑ प॒रस्मा॑त्प॒श्येते॑ अ॒प॒रं च॒रन्त॑म् । अ॒ग्निं वा  
प॒न्यां कृ॒तुतां॑ सु॒यं त इ॒मं स॒जाता॑ अ॒भिस॑वि॒ष्यन् ॥ Was the eagle a mark of royalty?

4. *Ibid.* III. 4. 5. इ॒न्द्रे न॒द् मनु॑ष्याः॒ प॒रेदि॑ स॒ क॒तास्मा॑ व॒र्योः स॒वि॒तः । स त्वा॒व  
म॒तुत॑ स्ये॒ स॒व॒र्यो स॒ दे॒वान् प॒त॒त॒ स उ॒ कल्प॑मा॒नु वि॒षः ॥

§206. The king was expected to secure material  
 His duty prosperity to the people.<sup>1</sup>

"Fix thy mind upon the bestowal of wealth. Then  
 "do thou, mighty, distribute wealth amongst us."

In this connexion it would be interesting to quote  
 here a poem from the Atharva-Veda where the prosperity of  
 the people is described. The song, evidently contemporary,  
 praises the successful rule of King Parikshit of Kuru  
 land:

"Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules  
 "over all peoples. What may I bring to thee, curds, stirred  
 "drink, or liquor? (Thus) the wife asks her husband in the  
 "kingdom of King Parikshit."

In other words, in the Kuru land the wife never thinks  
 of offering such a poor drink as water to the thirsty husband.  
 And the barley beverage when brought 'over-ran

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* III. 6. 4. अना मनो वदुरेषाम ह्यप्युक्तो न द्रव्यो वि अना वसुनि ॥ 3 B. E.

V. I. XLII. p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* XX. 197. (3). 7-10.

राज्ञो विश्वजनो नस्य यो देवो मर्त्या अति ।  
 वैश्वानरस्य सुष्टु तिमा ऋणोता परिक्षितः ॥ 9

कतरत् त आ हरणि दधि मन्थं परिश्रुतम् ।  
 जाया पति वि पृच्छति राधे राज्ञः परिक्षितः ॥ १२  
 अमीव स्वः प्र जिहीते यवः पक्वः परो विलम् ।  
 जज्ञः स भद्रमेधते राधे राज्ञः परिक्षितः ॥ १०

See 3. B. E. XLII. pp. 197-198.

the brim'. This shows "*the people thrive merrily in the kingdom of King Parikshit*".

§207. The election in the Vedic age appears fairly simple and business-like. But it has a latent philosophy behind it. The king is elected by the people; he is expected to fulfil certain duties; and is invested with certain privileges. He accepts his office from the people and the 'king-makers'. He was in agreement with his electors. He could be removed from his office and could be brought back from exile. The germs of the political philosophy of kingship are all to be found in these Vedic mantras:

The fact, if not the theory, was clear that the office of the king was a creation of the People and was held conditionally. Above him there was always the National Assembly, the Samiti which was, as we have seen above, the real sovereign.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Cf. Monmonnoll, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 152. The king (rājā) was often hereditary.....His power was by no means absolute, being limited by the will of the people expressed in the tribal assembly (Samiti).

## CHAPTER XXIV

### Coronation Ceremony of Brahmana Period and Its Constitutional Significance

§208. In the age of Brāhmaṇa literature, coronation becomes elaborate, ritualistic and very technical. Special royal ceremonies were invented. But they all retain the same constitutional characteristics as we find in the true Vedic period. In fact they are developments of the same underlying ideas.

Sacred formulæ and rites for royal installation are formed and prescribed in this period. And they become prescribed once for all. Since that time every Fixed  
formula Hindu sovereign crowned in India has observed them, for according to the orthodox view of both law and ritual, no one could attain kingship without them. The same ceremonies, in essentials, came down and are prescribed by lawyers of the 17th century who wrote for Hindu kings in Muhammadan times.<sup>1</sup>

§209. In the Śrutis there are three ceremonies for consecrating heads of society. There is the first and foremost, the *Rājāsūya* or the Inauguration of a Rājāsūya,  
Vājapeya and  
Sarcamedha king; there is, secondly, the *Vājapeya* used for consecrating a king or a high functionary as the royal priest, and thirdly, there is the *Sarcamedha*, 'a sacrifice for universal rule.' The Vājapeya probably did not partake of political nature in its origin, it being primarily designed to celebrate something like an Olympic victory.<sup>2</sup> It was, later on, adopted for royal and

<sup>1</sup> See Mitra Mān, *Vicramāditya Samajit*, pp 85—113.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Taittiriya Br. I. 3. 2. 2.

See also Eggeling, *SBH* XLI, p. 24 (Introduction).

## CORONATION CEREMONY

religious consecrations. The Sarvamedha<sup>1</sup> is an exceptional ceremony performed by emperors who are already consecrated to rulership. The ceremony proves the existence of the territorial ideal of a one-state India.<sup>2</sup> The normal ceremony of Coronation, however, is the Rājasūya.

राजं पव राजसूयम् । राजा वै राजसूयेनेद्वा भवति...

"To the King doubtless belongs the Rājasūya, for by offering the Rājasūya he becomes 'king.'"<sup>3</sup>

We shall here mainly discuss the rituals of the latter and also of the Vājapeya. In fact they all have very many details in common, and they supplement each other. The Vājapeya came to be regarded as a preliminary to the Rājasūya.

§210. The Rājasūya is comprised of three distinct parts; the first is a series of preliminary sacrifices, the second is the *Abhishechanīya*, 'the sprinkling' or 'the anointing', the third are a number of post-anointing ceremonies. Out of the three, the Abhishechanīya is the most important; and, perhaps, in practice the rites and formulæ of it alone were considered indispensable at normal coronations.

One of the first things which strike the student of the ceremony is the pronoun "he" by which the king-elect is studiously designated. It is only after the sprinkling stage that he is called 'king'; that is, only when the ceremony is complete, he becomes invested with the royal office and powers; before that he is an ordinary citizen.

1 See *Satapatha Br.* XIII. 71.

2 Cf. *Altareya Br.* VIII. 15; *Pāṇini*, V. 1. 41-42 on *Sām-Brahma*.

3 *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 1. 1. 12.

§ 211. Among the preliminary offerings there are the eleven *ratna-havis* (the 'jewel'-offerings) which 'he' has to make to the eleven *Ratnins* or the 'Jewel-holders' at their respective houses. The recipients of the *Ratna-havis* are :—

- (1) *Senāni* (the commander of the army).
- (2) *Purohita* (the court chaplain); 'Brahmin' in the *Taittiriya* ritual.
- (3) The king-elect himself as representing the *Kshatra* or 'rule'; in the *Taittiriya*, '*Rājanya*' in the place of the king-elect.
- (4) *Mahishi* (the queen). The Queen had an official character in as much as she appeared with the king on the throne on certain official occasions. It seems, however, the underlying principle here is the sacred theory that without the wife no sacrament could be performed, the sacrificer by himself being only one-half of his whole spiritual body, the other half being the wife. On this principle in the *Vājapeya*, she ascends the throne together with the husband.

1. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* V. 2, 1. Cf. also *Taittiriya Br.* 1. 7. 2. (Poona Ed. I pp. 308-310) and *Taittiriya Saṃhitā* 1. 8. 2. (Munich Ed. I, pp. 146-49).

The text says that the *ratnas* are eleven ( *एकादश रत्नानि* ). But the *havi* is offered at twelve places. Evidently the offering at his own house is not counted (the school of *Kṛishṇa Yajurveda* does not prescribe an offering at the king-elect's house) or the last two might have been treated as entitled to one offering only.

"Come wife, ascend we the sky"—  
 "ascend we!" says the wife.....She  
 "the wife in sooth is one half of  
 "his own self; hence as long as he does  
 "not obtain her, so long he is not  
 "regenerated for so long he is  
 "incomplete"<sup>1</sup>

In the Rāja-sūya ritual of the Yajur-Veda no direction is given as to the future Queen's ascending the throne. But the Epics prove the practice of joint coronation.<sup>2</sup>

As the formulas are already prescribed in the preliminary Vājapeya, they have not been repeated in the Rāja-sūya. The same principle of completing the spiritual self of the king-elect is extended by other schools of the Yajur-Veda who make the king-elect do worship also to his other wives of lower castes, Vāvātā and Parivṛikṭi.<sup>3</sup> In the Aśvamedha ceremony even the wife of the lower Śūdra caste ( *Pālāgalā* ) takes part.<sup>4</sup>

- (5) Śūta (the court-minstrel and chronicler). Probably in early times he combined in him some important office other than that of the chronicler. In the Mauryan

1. *Satapatha Br.*, V. 2. 1. 10; *S.B.E.* XLI. p. 22.

2. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Yuddha K.*, 128, 50, *M. R.* *Śaṅkṛ.* (Kum) 60, 14 उपवेश्य महात्मनः कृष्णो व ।

3. Cf. *Satapatha*, XIII. 5.2 5-6.

परिवृक्ता राज्ञो मन्थमपन्थवाः *Hitop.* 1. 10. 10, *Tattvasaṃgr.* (Myra) III. p. 146.

4. *Satapatha* XIII. 5.2 8, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Arj.*, 14 50.

Civil List of the Artha-Śāstra (V. 3-91, p. 245), he is placed amongst minor officers (Paurāṇika etc.) who got 1000 (silver paṇas) a year. It seems that every provincial capital had its sūta, as Br. Up., IV. 4. 37, indicates. He is the later histriographer whom Yuwan Chwang (Hiuen Tsang) found in the empire of Harsha Vardhana, whose duty it was to register 'good and evil events, with calamities and 'fortunate occurrences' in every province. That the record of each year was kept is evidenced by inscriptions of K h ā r a v e l a and others.

- (6) G r ā m a n i (the head of the Township or the village corporation). "Vaiśya-Grāmanī"<sup>1</sup> in the Maitrāyaṇī edition of the Yajurveda.
- (7) K s h a t t r i (the Chamberlain).
- (8) S a n g r a h i t r i (the master of the treasury). In later times he is called Sannidhātṛi (e.g. in the Artha-Śāstra).<sup>2</sup>
- (9) B h ā g a d u g h a (the collector of revenue). In later times he is called Samāhartṛi (e.g. in the Artha-Śāstra). The expression literally means 'milcher of the share' (of the king one-sixth, etc.). This shows that the amount of taxation had already become fixed.

1. See § 217, n.

2. Dhātva Bhāṣakara (Mysore ed. Tell. Śaṅkhaśāli) p. 119, points out the primary meaning of Sangrahita the 'holder of the reins' lit. 'the driver' (संघहीतुः... रजिषादिया) and then gives the secondary meaning (quoting opinion of others) रज्जुभिर्निधन्ता कुमाराभ्यङ्ग इत्यन्ये 'he who leads the (administration) by holding the reins (of government)', i.e., Prince-m-in-i-s-t-e-r.<sup>3</sup>—This has some bearing on Aśoka's sūtra, if it is connected with rejjā.

- (10) *Akshāvāpa*—Commentators have explained it as the controller of gambling. Gambling, being under state-control, brought in revenue; but the prominence of the department is rather strange and one is inclined to doubt the meaning of the commentators. Among the officers the one who comes after *Sannidhātṛi* and *Samāhartṛi* in the *Artha-Śāstra*, corresponding to Nos. 8 and 9 of our list, is the *Akshapātala* or [the Department of] the Accountant General. Thus the corresponding *Akshāvāpa* seems to be the officer in charge of State Accounts. The Gambling Officer will be quite out of place here. It seems that squares or *Aksha* were made on some board (*Paṭala* or *Adhīdevapa*) by the help of which accounts were in those days calculated. The *Akshaśālā* (*Artha-Śāstra*, p. 85) should also be considered in this connexion. The *Akshaśālā* department took charge of gold and silver and the mint. *Aksha* in these technical offices has no connexion whatsoever with gambling.
- (11) *Govikartṛi* (master of forests, literally, destroyer of beasts). He was evidently the officer described by Megasthenes amongst the 'Great officers of State' having

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1. Mc Crindle, *Megasthenes*, p. 50.

'charge also of the huntsmen' who cleared the land of wild beasts and fowls which devoured the seeds.<sup>1</sup>

- (12) P ā l ā g a l ā ( the Courier). His uniform was a red turban and leathern quivers.<sup>2</sup> He was of the Śūdra caste.<sup>3</sup> In his place the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā<sup>4</sup> of the Yajurveda gives the T a k ś h a and R a t h a k ā r a, carpenter and chariot-builder.

§212. The Ratnins are a development of the Vedic 'bestowers of the (p ā l ā ṣ ṭ a) m a ṇ ī'. The latter were the 'king-makers' ( राजकृतः = the ministers ), the Sūta, the head of the village community, the builders of chariots and the skilful in metals, 'surrounded by the folk.'

Now the Ratnins tend to be high functionaries of the state. In the selection of the functionaries the principle of class and caste representation appears to have operated. The P u r o h i t a is studiously referred to as 'B r a h m i n' only, in the majority of Yajus Schools. He symbolises the Brahmin. The R ā j a n y a or the king-elect himself symbolises the Rājanya or Kshatriya class. The G r ā m a ṇ ī, called the "V a i ś y a - g r ā m a ṇ ī" in the Maitrāyaṇī,<sup>5</sup> a grāmaṇī, or Township-President of the Vaiśya caste represented the Vaiśya class or the remnant of the original 'people', now the 'commoners'. The T a k ś h a and R a t h a k ā r a correspond to the Veda's 'skilful workers in metals and builders of chariots'. Their place is supplied by the P ā l ā g a l ā in the Śukla ritual; the class is

1. Ho Girdle, *Megasthenes*, p. 54.

2. The last two not in the Taittiriya-ritual.

3. Cf. XIII. 5. 2. 5.

4. *M. S. B. P.*

5. मारुतः शल्यवाणो वैश्वस्य वामनो गृह । *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* (2, 5, 6, 17-18, 2).

replaced by caste. The *Saṁāni*, *Purohita*, *Kṣhattā*, *Saṅgrahitā*, *Bhāgadugha*, *Akshāvāpa* and *Gokartrā* are the High ministers, the old *Rājaprits*, the king-makers. The High ministers were still called 'kingmakers' in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (समेत्य राजकर्तारो भरत वाक्यमब्रुवन्, A. 79. 1., Com. राजकर्तारः मन्त्रिणः ).

When society grew, it was not possible for the whole Folk to assemble, and adoption of the representative principle was natural. The most noticeable feature in the change is the express recognition of the *Śādra* as part of Society. From the constitutional point of view it is a great change. The conquered helot is now worshipped by the man who is going to become king. He is as much an integral part of the polity as any one else. This recognition, as we shall see, becomes more and more emphatic as time goes on.

§213. The offering to the 'jewel-holders' is explained by the set phrase in each case, *'for it is for him that he is thereby consecrated and him he makes his faithful follower.'* He treats with *Havi* the headman of the village corporation because 'he assuredly is one of his jewels and it is for him that 'he is thereby consecrated, etc.'

The reason for the respect due to the High Functionaries or Ministers should be noted. The *Ratnin* Ministers existed before the king came to the throne. They had existed independently of him. *They were in origin part of the Samiti*, 'the Folk around me'—the Vedic 'kings' and 'king-makers'. In later history, ministers still retain these designations of popular times ;

१. ग्रामस्थो गृहान् परित्यज्य मास्तु सत्कृपात् पुरोहितं निर्वपति विशो वै सख्यो वैश्वो वै ग्रामस्थोस्तस्मान् मास्तु भक्त्येवहाः इत्येकं शब्दं यद् ग्रामस्थोस्तस्मात् परित्यज्य गृहं तम् स्वर्गनयकर्मिणं कुर्यात् *Satapatha*, V. 319

they still retain the privileges of the ritualistic period—they are worshipped before every coronation. Likewise they retain pronounced traces of independence throughout their history ( Chs. xxx, xxxi ). The latter we can understand only with reference to this history of origin.

§ 214. The whole procedure symbolises the obtainment of the approval of the differentiated organs of government in his consecration to kingship. The seeking of approval does not rest here. Symbolic 'approval' ( *Anumati* ) of the Earth ( *Motherland* ) itself is requested and obtained. This is done before the estates of the Realm are approached.

"They then return ( to the sacrificial ground ) without "looking backward. He now proceeds with the cake on eight "potsherds for *Anumati*. For *Anumati* is this ( Earth ); and "whosoever knows to do that work which he intends to do, "for him indeed she approves ( *anu-man* ) thereof; hence it "is her he thereby pleases, thinking 'May I be consecrated, "a p p r o v e d by that ( genius of ) approval !"—'

§ 215. *The idea underlying is altogether human; there is no divinity about the person or the office of the sovereign.*

"After the jewels he offers a pap to Soma and Rudra." That the great gods should come after the secular officers was unpalatable to theologians, and they therefore give a fanciful explanation by introducing a myth that as offerings had been rendered to

The idea underlying

1. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V, 2 3, 1. अथानुमत्याष्टाकपालेन पुरोडाशेन प्रवर्तितं वा अनुमतिः

स यस्तत् कर्म शक्नोति कर्तुं न यन्विहीर्यते च इदमस्मिन्नुप नन्दते तदिमांशेवैतत् प्रोक्तमस्मिन्नुप नन्दते इति ।

some unworthy of sacrifice, it was necessary to sacrifice to gods 'for enlightenment' (expiation).<sup>1</sup>

§ 216. The *Abhishechanīyam* or the Sprinkling Ceremony starts with sacrifices to a set of deities for instilling in the king-elect certain virtues necessary for his office. Savitā is prayed for energy, the family fire for family virtues, Soma for capacity to protect forests, Brihaspati for eloquence, Indra for ruling capacity, Rudra for power to protect cattle-wealth, Mitra for truth, and lastly Varuṇa for protection of law.

§ 217. Says the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa :<sup>2</sup> "Thereby Varuṇa the protector of the law makes him the protector of the law, and that truly is a supreme state when one is protector of the law, for whosoever attains to the supreme state, to him, they come in causes of law." Here is a new theory of the monarchical days when the Brāhmaṇas were written. The sacred formula only contemplates the protection of the law as a necessary duty of the king, but the commentator takes it in the sense that one of the chief features of a 'full-fledged' state must be that the law should be administered by the king or his officers ('for him they come in causes of law'). The old theory had been that the law of the community was administered by the community. The new theory was operating in actual life in the time of the Jātakas and it was fully extended in the imperial days of the Mauryas, when salaried judges not only dispensed royal justice but also administered royal laws.

1. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 3. 2.

2. Ibid V, 3. 3. 9. अथ वरुणाय धर्मपतये । वरुणो धर्मस्य कर्तुं निर्वपति तदेवं वरुणं धर्मपतिर्धर्मस्य धर्ति करोति धर्मता वै सा गो धर्मस्य धर्तिसमो हि धर्मतां गच्छति तं हि धर्मोऽपयन्ति तस्माद्वरुणाय धर्मपतये ॥

Cl. S. B. K. III, p. 71.

§218. Waters are then collected from the sea and other reservoirs of the land, proclaiming in sacred formulas the name of the person for whose anointing they were gathered. The waters are taken in each case with a poetic formula; "*Self-ruling waters, ye are bestowers of kingship, bestow ye kingship on, N. N.*"

In the description and details of the waters there is to be found a poetic finish to the symbolical constitutionalism. Waters are brought from the Sarasvatī of historic memories, from the mighty rivers of the land, from the great Ocean. The sum total of these waters is yet to be contributed to by a humble pool of the country. The latter is invoked with the lofty address: "*Pleasing ye are, Bestowers of kingship, bestow ye kingship on, N. N.*" The comment on the sacred address of the Brāhmanā is majestic and is reserved only for this insignificant reservoir; "*He thereby makes the people steady (the water of the pool being steady) and faithful to him.*"<sup>1</sup> A common pool of the country over which he is going to rule is made a sacred source of his sovereign powers.

§ 219. The gods have been invoked to endow the potential king with ruling virtues 'for national rule', *jānārājyāya*,<sup>2</sup> 'for the ruling of the folk', yet the rivers of the land, the waters of India are prayed to as 'bestowers of state' to confer the actual status of kingship. Gods might give him virtues for 'national rule', but they could not give the kingship of the land: it was the right of the waters in the land to do it. And they too only when combined from the highest to the lowest, could do it; hence the flattering

1 स्वराजस्य राष्ट्रं दा राष्ट्रं मनुष्यं वत्त, *Ibid.* V. 3. 4. 21. वृष्टेर्नोऽसि राष्ट्रं दा राष्ट्रं मनुष्यं देहोति, *Ibid.* V. 3. 4. 6.

2 मान्दास्य राष्ट्रं दा राष्ट्रं मनुष्यं देहोति तानिर्वाहं विन्दति... स्वायत्तावकाशमर्थो करोति... *Ibid.* V. 3. 4. 14. cf. *Taittirīya. Saṁhitā*, I, 8. 11.

3. Cf. *Taittirīya Br.* I, 7. 8. 7.

address to a common country pool. An important conception is crystallised in this sacerdotal procedure. It is on the whole a crude symbolism but a symbolism enshrining a great idea for all ages.

§220. The *Ahishhechana* is twofold, the first part is the sprinkling of waters by what may be described as different estates of the realm, and the second is the theological anointing on the head by the priest just before the king-elect ascends the throne (*āsandi*). A tiger skin is spread in front of the *Mitrā-Varuṇa*'s hearth and the king-elect steps upon it. Four men, one after another sprinkle him—a Brahmin, a kinsman of the king-elect, a *Rājanya*, and a *Vaiśya* which literally means 'one of the people'. The *Śūdra* is absent and the kinsman seems to be a tautology. The latter is not found in the corresponding *Taittiriya* ritual (*Taitt. Br.*, I. 7. 8.) where the Priest as Brahmin, *Rājanya*, *Vaiśya*, and lastly, *Janya*, do the besprinkling. The last one, *Janya*, stands for the *Śūdra* in the sense of a man of the 'hostile' tribe as in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 26., and as originally he was. In later times the *Śūdra* always appears.

The king-elect then puts on a silk underwear, a mantle and a turban or diadem.<sup>1</sup> Our *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* does not approve of the dressing, and there is that artistic touch in the reason given which was common to the Hindus and the Greeks. "For the limbs being his natural vestments they deprive him of his native bodily form".<sup>2</sup>

1. *Sat. Br.*, V. 8. 5. 11-14.

2. *Uchigishi* is taken by some to be turban and by others diadem. The *Rāmāyana* has diadem (*kīrti*), *Yashas K.*, 118, 64.

3. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 3. 5. 20.

§ 221. Then follows the Investiture, and Announcement. The priest gives him a strong bow with three arrows with the formula "*Protect ye him in front,*" etc. After the investiture and Announcement while the king-elect is standing on the ground over the tiger-skin an Announcement is made,—the *Āvid* formulæ are called out:

"Informed are ye Men! Informed is the "house-lord Agni! Informed is the far-famed Indra! "Informed are Mitra and Varuna, the upholders of "the vow! Informed is Pūshan (the lord of wealth)! "Informed are Heaven and Earth, all beneficial! "Informed is Aditi, of great shelter!"

The author of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa points out that the announcements are symbolical<sup>1</sup>: Agni symbolising the Brāhmaṇas; Indra, the nobility; Pūshan the world of cattle and so on. In any case, the king-elect is expressly and firstly announced to men, whatever be the real import of the other *āvids*. The *āvids* are made to obtain permission or a approval for the consecration, says the Śatapatha 'तेऽनुमतः सृपते,' 'and approved by them he is consecrated.'

<sup>1</sup> Tājassarya Samhitā, X. 9. —

आविर्मन्त्रो आविरागो अग्निगृहपतिरवित् इन्द्रोऽश्वदधश्च आविरागो मित्रावरुणौ सवितरश्च  
वितः पूषा निगवेदो आविरागो सावाश्विर्वा विषवश्चतुर्वारिविणदितिलक्ष्मणो ॥

<sup>2</sup> Sat. Br., V. 3, 5. 31-37.

## CHAPTER XXV

### Coronation Ceremony of the Brahmana Period and Its Constitutional Significance ( continued )

§ 222. After the Âvit-proclamation follows the Indra-ceremony of Sacred Abhisheka. (Śatapatha Br., V. 3. 3. 2, ) The king-elect is unanimously  
Coronation Oath regarded to have taken a vow ( d h r i t a - v r a t a ) before he is seated on the throne. <sup>1</sup>

The vow, promise, or oath is again alluded to in the Taittiriya Br., ( I. 7. 10. 1-6. ) *s a t y a - s a r a* "of true sacrifice", *s a t y a - d h a r m ā* "of true ( or faithful ) conduct", *s a t y ā u r i t e V a c n a n a h*, "Varuna is authority in truth ( or oath ) and falsehood ( or faithlessness )", *s a t y a - r ā j ā* "true king". To what engagement do these repeated expressions allude? The vow or engagement is not cited here. But, it is given in the very Indra ceremony in the Aitareya Brāhmana. Evidently that was universally adopted, as the testimony of later books and practice proves. It is therefore simply alluded to and not repeated in other Brāhmanas. The vow which the king-elect took, or, to use modern phraseology, the Coronation Oath, as given in the Aitareya Brāhmana is in these terms : <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> निषसाद् एतज्जतः Vājasaneyi Sūtra (6. 5. 27, Taittirīya Brāhmana, I. 7. 10. 1; Taittirīya Br., I. 7. 10. 2; Aitareya Brāhmana, VIII 12.

<sup>2</sup> Aitareya Brāhmana, VIII 12. [एतेनैन्द्रेण महानिषेकेण सन्निवं वापयित्वा अभिषिञ्चेत्, स मयातु सह भद्रका ] यान्च रात्रौमजायेई यान्च प्रेतास्मि तदुभयमन्तरेजीष्टापूर्त्तं मे लोकं लङ्कतमायुः प्रजां वृञ्जीषा यदि ते दृष्टं यमिति ।

["Let the Kshatriya be sworn through this Great Coronation of the Indra ritual. He is to repeat 'with faith:'] 'Between the night I am 'born and the night I die, whatever 'good I might have done, my heaven, my 'life and my progeny may I be 'deprived of, if I oppress[injure] you'"]

The business-like and contractual nature of the oath is noteworthy. There is no reference to any divine agency in the oath. It is purely human. It is humanly solemn. According to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa the oath was common to all constitutions. It was administered to the Ruler (Kshatriya) whatever the form of polity, whether he was desirous of being consecrated to Sāmrajya, Bhaujya, Svārājya, Vairājya, Pārameshthya, Rājya, Māhārājya, Ādhipatyā, or Śārva-bhauṇa (Monarchy).<sup>1</sup> As we shall deal with the history and effect of the Coronation-Oath presently we may pass on to the remaining ceremonials and their meaning.

§223. After the Announcement he is asked to ascend the wooden throne<sup>2</sup> (Āsandi) spread upon with furs, generally with tiger-skin. The formulae for the occasion are four, and the four estates are asked thereby to protect the king-elect "as the precious treasure".

१. स व इन्द्रदेववित्तत्रिवर्म्यं सर्वो जितोजेताय सर्वार्होऽकान्तिन्देताय सर्वेशं राज्ञं  
अष्टमतिष्ठो परमतां गच्छेत् साध्राज्यं भौज्यं स्वाराज्यं वैराज्यं पारमेष्ठ्यं राज्यं माह्वाराज्यमाधि-  
पत्यमयं समेतयवायी स्वात्सावभौमः सावांशुष आऽन्तादापराधांतृषिष्यं समुद्रपर्यन्ताया एक-  
राष्ट्रिणि सवेतेनैन्द्रं वा महाभिषेकेण क्षत्रियं वापक्विताऽभिषिचेत् ॥ *Aitareya*, VIII, 13

<sup>2</sup> The wooden throne was adhered to for centuries, even when thrones of ivory and gold were in general use, see *Mahā-Bhārata*, (Kumbhakoumā) *Sūkti-Purāna*, XXXIX.

§224. The point of greatest constitutional import is that the king is to be protected by the four estates of the realm. Protected by the people (in his office) he is to carry on the administration. This principle was one of the accepted axioms of Hindu politics : *rāshṭreya rājā cyasane parirakshyastathā bhavet.*<sup>1</sup>

"Ascend thou the East... may the spring season, the "priesthood protect thee (*aratu अवतु*), that precious treasure. "Ascend thou the South... may the Kshatra protect thee, that "precious treasure. Ascend thou the West... may the Viś "protect thee, that precious treasure. Ascend thou the North... "...may the Phala<sup>2</sup> protect thee, that precious "treasure".

He is said to 'ascend the quarters'. It means that his installation is all-sided.

§225. Just before he ascends, he steps upon a gold-plate; and through a gold plate perforated with a hundred or nine holes the waters are sprinkled over his head by the priest, with the following sacred text.<sup>3</sup>

सोमस्य त्वा यु॒द्धे॒ नाभि॒वि॒द्याम्य॒ नैर्घ्रा॑त्त॒सा सूर्य॑स्य वर्च॒सा इन्द्र॑स्येन्द्रि॒येण॑ ।

क्ष॒त्राणां॑ क्ष॒त्रप॑तिरे॒ष्यति॒ दि॒व्यून॑ पा॒हि ॥ २ ॥

2. 4, 13, 14. Though of wood ('Śaptaga'), entered it was elaborate as Brāhmaṇa descriptions show. The design of the chariot of the Bharmas is famous in the Rigveda.

1. *MH. Śānti P.* Ch. 100 32. (Kumbhakara)

2. Evidently standing for the *Sātra*.

3. These texts occur in the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* (*Śukla Yajurveda*) Chapter IX, var. 40 and Chapter X cv. 17 and 18. These two Chapters (IX and X) of the *Saṁhitā* give mantras for royal consecration from which different ceremonies have been evolved in the Brāhmaṇas.

॥ इ॒मं दे॒वा अ॒स॒प॒त्न॒ ॐ सु॒व॒ज॒म् म॒ह॒ते क्ष॒त्रा॒य॒  
 म॒ह॒ते अ॒ग्ने॒ रा॒य॒ म॒ह॒ते ज्ञा॒न॒रा॒ज्याये॒न्द्र॒स्ये॒न्द्रि॒या॒य॒ ॥  
 इ॒म॒म॒मु॒ष्य॒ पु॒त्र॒म॒मु॒ष्यै॒ पु॒त्र॒म॒स्यै॒ वि॒श्व॒ ए॒व॒ वो॒  
 ॥ सो॒मो॒ रा॒जा सो॒मो॒ऽस्मा॒कं ब्रा॒ह्म॒णा॒ना॒ ॐ रा॒जा ॥

"With Soma's glory I sprinkle thee! with Agni's  
 "glow! with Surya's splendour! with Indra's energy! be  
 "thou the sovereign protector of the ruling powers!

"Make him, O gods, to be unrivalled for great ruler-  
 "ship, for great superiority, for great national rule,  
 "for Indra's energy make him, the son of (the man)  
 "X. X. and (of the woman) Y. Y. and of the people  
 "Z. Z. This man, O ye People! is your  
 "king, he is Soma, king of us Brāhmanas!"

'People' (विश्व) according to Āpastamba, Baudhāyana  
 and Kātyāyana (Śrauta Sūtras quoted by Śāyana) means  
 'Nation', e.g. the 'Bharatas', the 'Kurus', the  
 'Pañchālas'. Kātyāyana explains 'the People' by  
 the word Jāti. He speculates that territory was not  
 (originally) fixed (अनवस्थिता 'fluctuating'), hence *raja* (the  
 people) was used. In place of 'the People!' the Taittirīya  
 Saṃhitā (I, 8, 10) of the Krishna Yajurveda gives 'O  
 Bharatas' [ए॒व॒ वो॒ भर॒ता रा॒जा] which shows that the  
 explanation of the Śrauta-sūtra-kāras is correct. The  
 Yajurveda or the Veda of Rituals (formulae) was evidently  
 composed in the land of the Bharata monarchy (Delhi-Agra).

§ 226. Soma is the life-giver of the vegetable king.

dom or *Vanaspatis*.<sup>1</sup> Owing to the connexion of the Brahmins with the sacrificial Soma the deity Soma was considered to be their special deity. Here the king is consecrated as king of the whole people including the Brahmins, and the priest expresses this by calling him Soma.<sup>2</sup> The sacerdotalist author of the Śatapatha, however, gives a questionable explanation of the closing sentence in the Vedic text above quoted. He says that it means that Soma and not the king was the king of the Brahmins. This is inconsistent with the existence of the indicative 'this,' *‘vahu’* in the text, the naming of the people or nation and the homage when the Brahmin resigns his privilege in the person of the king.<sup>3</sup> The Śatapatha marks the last stage of the Brāhmana period and it seems that the Priest-Brahmins about that time began to assert a claim of freedom from taxes. The Śatapatha explains that the meaning of the exception is that the king is to receive his sustenance from all others except the Brahmin.<sup>4</sup> In the Aitareya Brāhmana, however, the Brahmin is fully subordinate to the king,<sup>5</sup> and so he appears to be in the Jātakas. The Vājasaneyi-Brāhmana Upanishad which belongs to the school of the Śatapatha places the Brahmin under the king. (तस्मात् क्षत्रात्परं नास्ति तस्माद्ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियमथस्तुपास्ते राजसूये 'Hence there is none above the Ruler, hence Brahmin sits under Kshatriya in Rājāsūya')

1 Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, Ch. IX, v. 20.

2 See below under 'Homage' where the king is called a Brahmin made mighty through the strength of the whole people. Cf. the address to the king by the priest 'Brahmins thou art! Savitar thou art! Varuṇa thou art (etc)'. In Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, X. 25, with the 'Soma' here.

3 Śatapathā Brāhmana, V. 3. 2. 3, तस्मात् इह यं स्वसंघं करोति ब्राह्मणमेवापोद्धरति तस्माद् ब्राह्मणो नाथः सोमराजा हि भवति ।

4 Aitareya Brāhmana, VII. 29.

(IV. 11.). The Taittiriya school does not accept the interpretation of the Śatapatha. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara explains the Vedic text as denoting that as a Brahmin must never be without a king, he is supposed to be under Soma for the period before a king is consecrated, and after the king is consecrated, the king becomes his king also ( अस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां सोमो राजा, अधुना अवचेति । सर्वदा सरजका वयं इत्यभिप्रायः । (Taittiriya Veda, Mysore, III. pp. 157-8). The Aitareya implies that he becomes the Protector of Brahmins and Protector of Law (VIII. 12).

The claim of the Śatapatha author is limited to a freedom from taxation in favour of the Brahmin. Vasiṣṭha in his Dharma-Śāstra (I. 45),<sup>1</sup> on the authority of the comment of the Śatapatha, deduces the rule that a Brahmin should not be taxed, and gives a further reason that he pays his taxes by allowing one-sixth of his good deeds to the king ! (I. 44). It seems that originally there was a difference of opinion between the Dharma school and the Artha school. The politicians did not admit the claim. The Mānava Artha-Śāstra (a work of authority referred to in the Mahā-Bhārata also, but not yet discovered) is quoted by Somadeva in his Nīṭivākyaṃgīta (C. VII.) which says that even those practising austerities in the forest and living by glean- ing corn from the fields pay one-sixth of it to the king. It

1 राजातुधर्मैर्वातुवासत्पदं धनस्य हरेत् ॥ ४२ ॥

"The king when ruling lawfully should take one-sixth of wealth." अन्वयः ब्राह्मणाय

॥ ४३ ॥ "Except from the Brahmin", इष्टापूर्तस्य तु, षष्ठमं भवतीति इ ॥ ४३ ॥ "For

"he divides with him one-sixth share of his virtuous deeds indeed." ब्राह्मणो देहमाह्व

करोति ब्राह्मणो ध्यायद् उद्धरति तस्माद्ब्राह्मणो नाशः । सोमोऽस्त्व राजा भवतीति इ ॥ ४४ ॥

"The Brahmin outlives the Veda, the Brahmin rescues from calamity; hence the Brahmin is not to be taxed. 'Soma becomes his king' (Sovereign) indeed."

is the (share) of him who protects them (उक्त्ययद्भागप्रदानेन वनस्था अपि तपस्विनो राजानं सम्भावयन्ति । तस्यैव तद्भूयात् यस्तान् गोपयन्ति इति ॥) Final settlement seems to be that the Priest-Brahmin alone was exempted. The *Mahā-Bhārata* (*Śānti*, lxxvi. 5) makes Brahmins who are not Vedic priests liable to taxation. Mann's *Dharma Code* also limits the exemption to the Vedic priest, *Śrōtriya* (VII. 133).<sup>2</sup>

The treatment of the passage from the coronation ceremonial by lawyers like Vasishtha proves that the constitutional bearing of the ceremonials and formulae was evident to the ancient Hindus. They were regarded as basis of constitutional law by code-writers.

§227. After three steps he ascends the wooden throne and he is addressed as in the *Vājapeya* with *Vestings of Sovereignty* these constitutional sentences taken from the *Sapthitā* :

इयं ते राट् ।...यन्तासि यमनो ब्रूवोऽसि धदुणः ।

कथ्यै त्वा क्षेमाय त्वा ख्यै त्वा पोषाय त्वा ॥<sup>3</sup>

(1) "To thee this State is given; (2) "thou art the director and regulator, thou art steadfast and bearer (of this state or responsibility) (3) to thee (this State is given) for agriculture, for well-being, for prosperity, for development". After the first sentence is pronounced, he is made "to sit down."

1. यजोत्रिषाः सर्वं पूते सर्वे ज्ञानाहिताग्रवः । तान्मवांश्च धार्मिको राजा वसि वि हि व कास्येत् ॥ *M. Dh., S.*, 79, 6.

2. त्रिविधायाश्चोपन्यासोक्तौ न राजा योत्रिषात्कृतम् । *M.*, VII. 133.

3. *Satipitha*, V. 2. I, 23.

The theological interpreter emphasises that it is by virtue of the above formula that sovereignty vests in the man. "By that he is endowed with royal authority". 'To thee this State is given' is the most sacred text uttered at the Hindu coronation. It bore such a mighty solemn consequence as the vesting of sovereignty in one man. The terse comment of the author of the *Brāhmaṇa* is immensely important in the history of the institution of Hindu Kingship. It is this sacred act of delivering the trust that kingship depended upon, and not on any other principle such as that of succession, or inheritance.

The purpose for which 'the State is given' is defined, 'for culture, well-being, prosperity, development' and is generally summed up in the expression: 'for the weal'; as the Commentator explains (साधवे त्वा). It is not a gift; it is a trust, and a trust made sacred by the most sacred rites. \*

The conception armoured in sacredness is wholly human. The son of X X and Y Y is made the king of the people Z. Z. He is not the son or lieutenant of any God. Nor is he appointed by any superhuman spirit. He is appointed by man, anointed by man. Gods are invoked to aid him, just as they are invoked in any other undertaking. But they do not confer the State. That is done by the human act expressed in the words—"To thee the State is given".

§ 228. These sentences are taken from mantra 22, Chapter IX of the *Saṃhitā*. The original mantra begins with salutations to the "Mother Land" [नमो मातॄ पृथिव्यै नमो मातॄ पृथिव्या...] and she is pointed out to the King-elect as the State or Sovereignty. The modern editions of the *Śatapatha* give the

words *साधवे त्वा* after *पोषाय त्वा* with an intervening *इति*. The *Saṃhitā* shows that these words are not part of the sacred text. They must have been used by the author of the *Śatapatha* as explanatory.

§220. Now we come to comparatively unimportant and less rigid post-*Abhisheka* ceremonies.

The "vow-holder" steps down from the throne and puts on shoes of boar-skin,<sup>1</sup> and takes a symbolical short drive in a chariot drawn by four horses.<sup>2</sup> This seems to be the origin of the Hindu pageantry of the coronation procession, which assumes gorgeousness in the age when the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed.

The King comes back immediately to the throne which he again ascends while the priest recites: 'Sit thee on the pleasant soft-seated throne!'<sup>3</sup> Then follows an exceedingly queer procedure. The king's person is silently touched on the back with a rod which is the symbolic sceptre of justice,<sup>4</sup> conveying by the action the view of the sacred common law that the king was not above but under the law.<sup>5</sup> The interpretation given of this procedure is an amusing piece of euphemism. The commentator says that it is done to carry the king's person beyond 'judicial destruction' (*daṇḍa-radhā*)!

1 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* V. 4. 3. 19.

2 *Ibid.*, V. 4. 4. 23 etc.

3 *Ibid.*, V. 4. 4. 1.

4 *Ibid.*, V. 4. 7. *अपेक्षं पृष्ठान्मुखमिव दशद्वेष्टन्ति । त दशद्वेष्टन्तो दशद्वेष्टमति-*

*नयन्ति तस्मादाजा दशद्वेष्टो दशद्वेष्टमतिनयन्ति ॥*

5 Cf. *Mānu*, VII.

§230. Amongst the post-abhisheka ceremonies, the homage and its symbolical acknowledgment are most important both from the ritualistic and constitutional points of view. The set formulae with fixed epithets and adjectives and their universal and uniform occurrence in the Śruti literature indicate sacerdotal rigidity and the consequent importance of the function.

§231. The King seated on the throne is surrounded by the Rātnins sitting below, by Brahmins as an estate of the realm, by Brahmins as priests, by nobles, by the Grāmanī and others. The homage to the King is first paid by the Brahmins both as estate and as priest in the council of the Rātnins. The homage of the estates is preceded by the homage of the King to the Prithivī, the Earth, or the Land:—

पृथिवि मातर्मा मा हिंस् सोमा ऽ अहं त्वाम् ।

"Mother Prithivī, injure me not,  
"nor I thee."

"This is performed, says the interpreter, 'lest She should shake him off.'"

In the prologue of the function to the address 'O, Brāhmaṇa' by the king—the reply comes forth interrupting the king: 'Thou art Brāhmaṇa, thou art Varuṇa 'of true power.' 'Thou art Brāhmaṇa, mighty

1 *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 4. 2. 29. मेवं नावपुन्वीत. According to the author of the *Satapatha* the country and the king entered into friendly relations for a mother does not injure her son, nor does a son, injure his mother, 'नहि माता पुत्रं हिंस्ति न पुत्रो मातरम्' *Engellings*, *S. H. E.*, Vol. XXI., p. 743.

2 *Taittiriya Samhitā*, X. 28. Taittiriya Br., I. 7. 10

through the strength of the whole People (Viś)! Five times, five individual Brahmins and priests, the king tries to address by the privileged designation, and in all cases the title of privilege is, so to say, resigned in the sovereign's favour,<sup>1</sup> and the sovereign and the popular representative character of the king ('through the strength of the people') is pointed out.

"A Brāhmaṇa or a priest then offers the sacrificial sword" to the king, the increaser of the public prosperity.<sup>2</sup> The sword thus received, he passes on as symbol of authority to all the state officers and the village headmen. And he demands their co-operation by quoting gracefully the very words of fealty used by the Brahmin—'*Rule for me therewith*', (*tena me radhya*). It has a double meaning '*serve me therewith*', (*tena me radhya*).<sup>3</sup> In the latter case the second meaning is intended. The command for co-operation is even directed to the *Sajāta*, an individual member of the nation<sup>4</sup>.

§232. The new king does not stop here. To impress that the administration, like a game of dice, is not possible by a single man, he asks the *Ratnins* to a symbolic game of dice. The bet is a cow, brought for the occasion by an ordinary member of the

The symbolic  
Game of  
Government

1 Evidently the idea is that the Brahmin may not now be addressed by his privileged designation of superiority. The superiority which is given to the king by the whole nation including the Brahmin makes the Hindu king legally and constitutionally superior to all classes and castes.

2 *Satapatha Br.*, V. 4. 4. 16.

3 *Ibid.*, V. 4. 4. 14. *Let* "the much worker, better worker, more worker".

4 A puzzle in which the author of the *Satapatha* (V. 4. 4. 15 to 19) lands himself by not realising the pun.

5 Receiving costly presents in homage and making generous gifts in return which abnormally developed in later times and which Mohammedan monarchs continued, is not known to the rituals even in symbols.

6 *Ibid.*, V. 4. 4. 20-25.

community.\* Thus in this great game of government which the king and his ministers were going to play, there was laid that sacred bet. The bet was the wealth of the most humble member of the community. It was willingly and graciously offered by the humble citizen. It was placed in their trust by a *Sajata*, 'one born together' with the players, or, as Sāyana explains, 'one of equal birth', i.e., one of the Nation. There is a constitutionalism put here in physical symbols: there is pathos intermingled with duty. The abstract has been thickly clad in the concrete.

§ 233. Now the chief features of the ceremonies comprised in 'Hindu Coronation' are before the reader. In modern language they may be summed up and expressed for the sake of clearness in a few sentences;—

(a) Hindu kingship was a human institution.

(b) Hindu kingship was elective; the electorate being the whole People.

(c) Hindu kingship was a contractual engagement.

(d) Hindu kingship was an office of State, which had to work in co-operation with other offices of State.

(e) Hindu kingship was a trust, the

\* A son of the king-elect once plays a little part in a solemn ritual. *Saṅgathan*, V, 4, 2, 3. But it is not found in corresponding place in the *Krishṇa Yajur* ritual.

trust being the tending of the country to prosperity and growth.<sup>1</sup>

(f) Hindu kingship is expressly not arbitrary.

(g) Hindu kingship was not above the law but under it.

(h) Hindu kingship was primarily national and secondarily territorial.<sup>2</sup>

This constitutional conception is not undeserving of our philosophic forefathers. The Hindu race did not care solely for the world-after. Here, in one instance, we see the Hindu, of flesh and blood, and of sinews and muscles. It is surely not the despicable picture which represents them as an unholy assemblage of spiritual imbeciles, born to 'bow before the blast and plunge in thought again.'

§234. The *Brāhmanas* do not recognise such a thing as hereditary succession. Each king must be consecrated as such and no reference is made to the previous successions in the rituals. This was due to the elective origin of the Vedic kingship. In fact, as in theory, Hindu kingship had not yet become hereditary in the time of the *Brāhmanas*. The inception

<sup>1</sup> Soon after—in the Vaimishadīa period—a new duty is placed on royal administration. The prosperity of the subjects should be not only material, but also moral. When five great theologians went to Aśvapati, king of Kakaya, he said with satisfaction :—

न मे स्तेवो जगदे न च्छवो न मत्स्यः ।

न नाहितमि नंविद्वास्वैरो स्वैरिदो कुतः ॥

'In my kingdom there is no thief, no coward, no drunkard, no man without 'the sacrificial fire set up in his house, no one uneducated, no adulterer, 'much less an adulteress' (*Chāṇḍogya* UP, V 11 7) There we have the beginning of that theory which becomes an axiom in later times, that political rule of the king is responsible for the moral condition of the people and that he is responsible for good and bad times.

§2. See 'King of the people ३.३,' and the Collection of the Waters and the Homage to the Land.

of the hereditary principle, however, is discernible. According to the opinion of one school, if the coronation was desired for the life-time of the king-elect, only the first syllable of the *Vyākṛiti*—'Bhūḥ' भूः, was to be pronounced, if it was for two generations, 'bhūrbhuvah' (भूर्भुवः) and if for three generations, 'bhūrbhuvah' Svah (भूर्भुवः स्वः) the complete formula was to be repeated.<sup>1</sup> This was the opinion of one school of ritualists as indicated in the Aitareya Br. A historical reference to this theory is found in the inscription of Khārvela where coronation for one generation is mentioned,<sup>2</sup> which naturally implies that coronation for generations more than one was possible. The tendency to hereditary kingship is corroborated further by the occurrence of *rājānam rāja-pitaram* ('king and father of a king') in the Aitareya Br. VIII. 12, while no such adjective to republican *Śarāj* or *Virāj* is added. But the rituals as originally designed were for each generation, and the one generation consecrated became the rule in practice for all ages to come, even when kingship became hereditary.

§ 235. Before we leave this period we have to take note of the sacred ceremony indicating the fact of deposition. Books xix to xxi of the *Śukla Yajurveda* prescribe formulae of the Sautrāmanī sacrifice which a dethroned monarch performed. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*

1. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 7.

भूरिति य इच्छेदिममेव प्रत्यक्षमसादित्यथ य इच्छेत् द्विपुलं  
भूर्भुव इत्यथ य इच्छेत्त्रिपुलं वा अग्रिमं वा भूर्भुवः स्वरिति ।

Of also 'rājānam rājāpitaram' in VIII, 12.

2. *J.R.O.R.S.*, III, 41.

## CORONATION CEREMONY

of the Kṛishṇa Yajurveda similarly recommends the Śāutrāmaṇī to a deposed monarch. 'Deposition thus in this period is as much a recognised practice as in the early Vedic times. Its existence in later times is thus sanctioned by previous history.

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सोमो वा पु॒तस्य॑ रा॒ज्यमा॑व॒धे ।

यो राजा सन्॒राज्यो वा सोमे॑न॒ वज्रे॑ ।

दे॒वस्य॑मे॒तानि॑ ह॒वीषि॑ भवन्ति ।

पु॒तावन्तो॑ वे दे॒वाना॑स्य॒ सवाः॑ ।

त पु॒वास्मै॑ स॒वान॑ प्रयच्छन्ति ।

त पु॒न पु॒नस्य॑ स॒वन्ते॑ रा॒ज्याष॑ ।

दे॒वस्य॑ राजा भवति ।

*Thibault's Brāhmanas*, I. 4. 2. See also Śāyana on it (*Samadhikaraṇa* ed. I, p. 179).

## CHAPTER XXVI

### Coronation in Later Times

§ 236. In later times all the constitutional principles upon which the ritualistic coronation was based we find being acted upon, with modifications in details to suit changed and changing circumstances. According to the *Mahā-Bhārata*, Yudhishthira 'worshipped' his Ministers before his coronation.<sup>1</sup> Here ministers stand for the Vedic Ratnins. At the proposed coronation of Rāma as King-assistant (*Yuzarāja*)—as described in the *Rāmāyana*,<sup>2</sup> according to the practice and ideas current in the days of its composition<sup>3</sup>—we find the *Janapada* and the *Pauras* present in place of the *Grāmanī* and *Sajātas* and the guild of merchants and traders in place of the Vedic 'rathakāras' and 'karmāras.' In the *Mahā-Bhārata* at the royal coronation of Yudhishthira we see the *Brahmins*, the owners of the land, the *Vaiśyas* and all the respectable

Leading  
Principle  
remains Vedic

1 'इक्ष्वर्यित्वा सभासदः' *Sakshi-Purāṇa*, Ch. XIII 4, 26. 29

2 *Rāmāyana*, bk II, Ch. XIV, v. 62.

वदन्तिष्ठत रामस्य समग्रमभिषेकम् ।

पौरजानपदग्रन्थापि नैगमस्य कृतान्तराणि ॥

3 "The cumulative evidence of the above arguments makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that the kernel of the *Rāmāyana* was composed before 500 B.C., while the more recent portions were probably not added till the second century B.C. and later." Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 309. The view is in agreement with Jacob's analysis (see *Rāmāyana*).

4 See below Chapters XXVII and XXVIII.

Śūdras invited.<sup>1</sup> In the Rāmāyana<sup>2</sup> the Brahmins, Ministers, Knights (Kshatriyas) and members of guilds (which had all castes in them) sprinkle the king with waters brought from the seas and rivers. A new element introduced is the representation of womanhood: unmarried girls also take part in the be-sprinkling. In the Mahā-Bhārata all the representatives of the subjects led by Dharmya and Kṛishṇa consecrate Yudhishtira.<sup>3</sup> The emperor receives presents and makes gifts of honour. According to Nīlakaṇṭha (Nītimayūkha)<sup>4</sup> the four chief ministers (मुक्ष्यामात्यचतुष्टयम्), Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra by caste, consecrated the new king. Then the leaders (Mukhyāḥ) of each Varna and of the castes lower still (शूद्राश्चावरमुक्ष्याश्च) consecrated him with holy waters (नानातीर्थसमुद्भवः). Then followed Acclamation by the twice-born (द्विजकोलाहलेन च). The king next sat amongst ministers and representatives of the people, Citizens of the Capital, merchants, traders, leaders of the bazar (पणेश्वरान्) and others who were introduced by the gentleman-usher to the king (प्रतिहारः प्रदर्शयेत्). A procession through the streets of the capital concluded the ceremony.<sup>5</sup> According to the Brahma-Purāṇa, quoted in the Vīramitrodaya-Rājanīti-prakāśa

1. *Saṁhita-Purāṇa* XXXIII, 41, 42. Kumbakonam ed., C. XXXVII.

सामन्त्र्यज्ज्वं राष्ट्रं शुभाशुभान्नुत्तिमान् ।

विचार्य मानवान्शूद्रान् सर्वमानयतेति च ॥

2. *Yudhishtira*, 129, 63 (Bombay) अस्मिन्निमोक्षयोः पदं कन्याभिर्मन्त्रिभिस्तथा ।  
बोधैवेवाभ्यपिन्वस्ते संप्रहृष्टैः सनैर्गमैः ॥

3. *Sānti*, C. XL1.

4. Benares, 1880, pp. 2-3, ततो भद्रासनगतं to शूद्रामात्योऽभिषेचयेत् ।

5. 'The king's *abhaya* diadem, had five crests (śikhā); that of the Queen, three, of the Yuvārāja, three; and of the Senāpati, one. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

(p. 48) the king after the ceremony went round the capital on an elephant, re-entered the palace, and offered worship or honour to all the leaders of the Paura (प्रक्षिणीकृत्य पुरं प्रविश्य च पुरं गृहम् । समस्तान् पौरमुख्यांश्च कृत्वा पूजां विस्तर्जयेत् ॥). In the Pushya coronation ceremony as laid down in the Atharvaṇaparīśiṣṭa<sup>1</sup>, the king after the ceremony allowed audience to Brahmins, and saluted the wives of the leaders of the subjects, Associations or Guilds, whereupon they gave him blessings.

This procedure is really the same in essentials as we find in the Brāhmaṇa period, with an extension of the principle of representation. We find the Elders of Pañchāla i.e., the members of an association similar to or identical with the Paura and Jānapada of Pañchāla, doing the *Abhisheka* of the new king of Kānyakubja in the time of Dharma Pāla, as recorded in his Khālimpur copper plate.

§ 237. Similarly the Coronation Oath now called *Pratiṣṭhā*, was administered. In the Coronation  
Oath Mahā-Bhārata, it is given in terms which correspond to the oath given in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

The oath is called by the Mahā-Bhārata a Śruti, which denotes that the oath was based on Vedic text. As the Aitareya enjoins that the oath should be repeated 'with faith' (*saha-śraddhayā*), so here it had to be pronounced without any mental reservation:

1. Cited by Mitra-Mishra in *P. M. R.* p. 114.

तत्तन्तु दर्शनं देयं ब्रह्मक्षानां श्रेयसं तु ।

धर्मोऽस्मिन्कृतिमुत्थानां स्त्रीजनं च मनस्करोत ॥

आश्विनस्तौ हि शास्वन्ति.....

2. 'इत्यथराज्यादहोरात्रं तत्तन्तुदर्शनं देयं ब्रह्मक्षानां श्रेयसं तु । धर्मोऽस्मिन्कृतिमुत्थानां स्त्रीजनं च मनस्करोत ।' *Ap. Ind.* IV, p. 243. See below, Ch. XXVII.

प्रतिज्ञाञ्चाभिरोहस्य मनसा कर्मणा गिरा ।  
 पालयिष्याम्यहं भूमिं ब्रह्म इत्येव चासकृत् ॥  
 यद्वाच धर्मो नीत्युक्तो दण्डनीतिव्यपाश्रयः ।  
 तमशङ्कः करिष्यामि स्वयशो न कदाचन ॥<sup>1</sup>

"Mount on the Pratiज्ञा (take the oath) \*  
 "from your heart (without any mental reservation),  
 "in fact and by word of mouth;

(a) "I will see to the growth of the  
 "Country" regarding it as God Himself  
 "and (this) ever and always;

(b) "Whatever law there is here and  
 "whatever is dictated by Ethics and  
 "whatever is not opposed to politics I  
 "will act according to, unhesitatingly.  
 "And I will never be arbitrary".<sup>2</sup>

To the royal oath the people pronounced 'Amen',  
 (एवमस्तु). The most remarkable feature about the Hindu

Coronation Oath is still retained; there is not  
 a trace of superstitious or mystic element in it.

It is in this respect in unique contrast with the  
 royal oaths of other countries.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Santi-Poorna* (Calcutta) ix. 109, 107. Kumbhakaram edition, 1115, 115, 116. The reading in the Southern recension is प्रतिज्ञाञ्चाभिरोहस्य. Instead of नीत्युक्तो of Bengali it has इत्युक्तो which does not give a satisfactory meaning.

2. Mount or ascend (on the Pratiज्ञा) is with reference to the symbolic ascent to the throne and to all the quarters. Pratiज्ञा literally means 'acknowledgment', 'affirmation' or 'vow'.

3. The original word is भूमि i.e., "all that belongs to the country."

4. The original word is स्वयम्. In the *Atthava* स्वायम्भुव form of monarchy is mentioned. The *Mahā-Bhārata* here shows that it denoted autocracy and that it stood discredited in the country.

5. Cf. article on Oath in the *Enc. Brit.* (Eleventh Edition)

§ 238. "O Rājā ! of the Bharata race ! how this "title Rājā as at present understood (signifying 'monarch') evolved : please tell me that Grandfather ! Having hands and arms and neck like others ; subject to pain and pleasure like others ; having intelligence and faculties like others ; subject to "pain and pleasure like others ; having back, face and stomach "like others ; having similar albumen, bone and marrow, "similar in flesh and sinews ; similar in inhaling and exhaling "breath ; in body and life similar to others ; equally subject to "birth and death ; an equal in all the attributes "which men possess—how should he, one man, "rule over men of uncommon intelligence and heroes ? How "should he alone rule the whole country full of brave, and "heroic Hindus ? Again, although he is protect- "ing, yet he seeks the satisfaction and "pleasure of the community. At the "same time, the whole community is "pleased by his, the one man's, pleasure, "and when the one man is in distress all "become distressed. This is a settled principle. "I want to hear on this from you, O Chief of the Bharatas. "Please expound to me the subject with underlying principles "exhaustively, O you the Great Expounder. The reason of "this, O Leader of the people ! could not be insignificant, for "to this one man the whole creation looks for guidance as if "he were a God."

This was the question put by Yudhishtira which elicited from Bhishma a history of kingship and of the Coronation Oath.

1 *Śānti-Purva* | Calcutta | LIX 5-12 (Kumbakonam LXIII 5-8).

य एष राजन् राजेति वृद्धाव्रति मास ।

कथमेव प्रसूयकस्तन्मे व हि पितामह ॥ ५ ॥

The 'not-insignificant' reason was explained by Bhīṣma with a professed historical account of the institution of Hindu monarchy. 'There was no monarchy and no monarch,' he related, in early times, and that then the people protected one another by law. As they thus lived, they found in time that mutual co-operation was not sufficiently powerful and law itself began to suffer. These men in consultation with Gods decided to elect a monarch. The gods gave them Virājas who however refused to be king. His three successors followed as 'Protectors' (Rakshayitās), the fourth one 'built an empire and became arbitrary.' Evidently they had not taken any oaths, coming, as it is said, from gods to men. The fifth Protector of divine origin, called Vena proved to be quite 'unlawful' to the people, and he was deposed and executed. Thereupon the men (the wise) elected a man called Prithu, a

तुल्यपाशिसुजप्रोवस्तुल्यदुदोन्निद्रयात्मकः ।  
 तुल्यदुःखतुल्यमात्रा च तुल्यदुःखमुलोदरः ॥ १ ॥  
 तुल्यदुःखास्थिमज्जा च तुल्यमात्रासुखेव च ।  
 मित्रासौख्यवासतुल्यवत् तुल्यमात्रासुखरोतमान् ॥ २ ॥  
 समानजन्ममरश्च समः सर्वेणैतुं शान् ।  
 विशिष्टदुःखीश्वराण्य कथमेकोऽपि तिष्ठति ॥ ३ ॥  
 कथमेको महौ कृत्वां पुरोराजसंकुलान् ।  
 रक्षत्यपि च लोकस्य प्रसादमभिव्यजति ॥ ४ ॥  
 एकस्य तु प्रसादेन कृत्वा लोकः प्रसीदति ।  
 न्याकुले चाकुलः सर्वो भवतीति चिन्तयन् ॥ ५ ॥  
 एतद्विज्ञाभ्यहं श्रोतुं त्वत्तो हि भरतर्षभ ।  
 कृत्वा तन्ये यथातथं प्रभूहि वदतां वरः ॥ ६ ॥  
 मेतत्कारणमत्यल्पं भविष्यति विज्ञापते ।  
 यदेकस्मिन्महत्सर्वं देवघाति सज्जति ॥ ७ ॥

1 Rishis. In this description there is a tendency to appropriate the credit of destroyi the pseudo-historical tyrant, to Brahma-philosophers and Rishis. There are clear

descendant of Vena. He promised faithfulness<sup>1</sup> and the above oaths were administered to him. He ruled successfully in accordance with law and his undertaking. The people were pleased with him and he obtained the title Rājā ('Pleaser.')<sup>2</sup>

§239. Such is a pseudo-historical theory devised to explain the Hindu Coronation Oaths by political writers. The germs of the theory go back to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>3</sup> which says that Prithu Vainya was the first

traces of a subsequent brahmanisation of the theory in various places. All the surplus, it is said in the beginning of the chapter, went to the Greater for advice on the appointment and election of a king. Why in subsequent procedure, then, should the *Rishis* alone figure prominently? The reply may be given that *Rishis* were from, and represented, all the *Mīras* Aryan-tribes. Yet there is no doubt as to a leaning towards Brahminic prominence. In the same book combined action by all the surplus in a similar matter is discussed. The explanation of the fact that the *Mahā-Bhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mānava Dharma Sūtra* bear very strong marks of an overstatement of Brahminic claim, attributable to the same period and to almost the same pen and hands, is found in the political history of the 2nd Century B.C. At that time a great Brahmin (*Puṣhyamitra*) actually ascended the throne of India and brought about a mighty religious and social revolution as against the previous political and religious systems. When the Brahmin ruler crushed the Greek power and saved Hindu civilisation, the claims could be made with some justification, and in view of the great success and popularity of the new regime, could become current with greater ease than they would have been otherwise. Both the epics clearly state that they were revised (e.g., पुरा बारमीकिना कृतम्) *Rāmāyaṇa* Bk. VI, Ch. 128, 105 and 110) and *Mahā-Bhārata* (Bk.I) Their attacks on Buddhism and the political data which in the case of the *Rāmāyaṇa* exclusively and in the case of the *Mahā-Bhārata* mostly, belong to the 2nd Century B.C. prove that revisions to have been made in the early Śūnga period. Overstatement of Brahminic claim in them therefore should not mislead us. It can be fortunately corrected in the light of inscriptions, the *Jātakas* and other Pālī works and books like the *Arthashastra*, the *Dharma Sūtras*, and the records left by foreign observers.

1 दन्मा भवन्तः वरुन्ति कार्यमर्पसमन्वितम् ।

तद्वहः करिष्यामि नात्र कार्या विचारद्वा ॥

"Whatever you gentlemen tell me, proper for me to do is accordance with the Science of Politics, I will do for you without any objection." *MBh. Śānti*, LIX, 102.

2 रन्वितारव प्रजास्तन्वां तेन राजेति कथ्यते । *Ibid.*, verse 128.

3 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V, 3.2.4. Vaitya is known even to the *Śiṅga* VIII B. 10. In the *Śiṅga* he appears to be a *Rishi* and a historical person, II, 112, 15]

anointed king of the Hindus. The theory implies that the Oath originated with kingship, that it was as old as kingship itself. An analysis of the oaths discloses the following position of the Hindu king.

1. That the trust in his hand—the tending ‘I will see to the growth,’ ‘*pālāyishyāmi*’) of the country—is the foremost solemn obligation of the sovereign.

2. That the country put under his care is to be regarded by him as nothing less than God, which implies sincerity, respect and awe. The relation is far from being patriarchal, theocratic or aristocratic.

3. That he is expressly not to be arbitrary. He is bound by the law, is brought under the law. He undertook to act according to the law established. He was further bound by the rules of political science. These two were to regulate his actions in internal administration and foreign relations. And he undertook never to disregard them.

§240. Nations of antiquity and nations of our own times have devised Coronation Oaths for their kings. But none more forcibly brings to the notice of the new king the all-powerful, the all-sacred position of the Country he is going to rule. To offend against that country was to offend against God Himself. Having once uttered this oath it was impossible to forget it. If a Hindu monarch failed to keep his coronation oath he would be a *satya-pratijña* (असत्यप्रतिज्ञा) and a *satya-sandha* (असत्यसन्धः), ‘false in his vow,’ and he

1. The subjects are called *God* (Vidya) in an Abbhisheka text quoted by Chandrastra (RAN, ch. XVI):

अधारम्य न मे राज्यं राजास्यं रक्षतु प्रजाः ।

इति सर्वं प्रजाविन्दुं मारिज्यं धामकेन्दुदुः ॥

would forfeit his title to remain on the throne. That the Coronation Oath was not an empty formality is evidenced by the fact that kings at times said with pride that they were true to their oaths. The hinduised R u d r a d ā m a n was anxious to declare in his inscription that he was, s a t y a - p r a t i j ñ a (सत्यप्रतिज्ञ), that he never levied taxes which were not lawful. The charge of breaking the oath was at times constructively extended. If the monarch failed to maintain the integrity of the state he was considered guilty of breaking his vow. B r i h a d r a t h a M a u r y a who was weak as ruler and during whose reign the Greeks made a second attempt at conquering India, was removed from the throne, and was called (*e.g.* by Bāṇs) w e a k i n k e e p i n g h i s P r a t i j ñ ā (P r a t i j ñ ā - d u r b a l a). The king having taken the oath to act according to the law as established, if he acted unlawfully and committed a crime he would be considered to have broken faith and his action would be illegal, for which the people who had installed him would remove him. The Jātakas<sup>3</sup>, tradition, literature and history furnish illustrations. In the Mahā Bhārata the plea for the deposition and execution of the tyrant Vena was that he was unlawful v i d h a r m ā : the 'formal' deposition of N ā g a - D a s a k a of Magadha and his punishment was due to his parricide.<sup>4</sup> King P ā l a k a of the Mṛichehhakatika was deposed because he had incarcerated Ā r y a k a without the latter having committed any crime.

1 Epigraphia Indica, VIII pp. 43-44.

2 See M. Bh. Jani. P. 131—

अरक्षितारं इत्थारं चित्तोपसारसनायकम् ।

तं नै राक्षकसि इन्दुः प्रजाः सज्जय निर्धयाम् ॥ ३२

आहं वा रक्षितयुक्त्वा वा न रक्षति भूमिः ।

स सङ्गत्य निहन्तव्यः स्येव सोन्मादायुरः ॥ ३३

3 E.g. Jātaka, vol I, p. 298.

4 Mahābhārata (IV, 4), exemplified by a Hindu in Ceylon in the 5th Century A.C. who drew upon the old traditions of his own country.

§241. The oath was deemed to be the essential sacrament down to later Muhammadan times. The ceremonials of coronation as then prevalent are not the same in all details as in the Brāhmaṇas. The coronation procession has developed out of the simple chariot drive. The king, as we have seen, holds a Śaḥā where the leaders of the community are introduced to him. The modifications are many and considerable. But the Coronation Oath is the oath of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and Hindu lawyers<sup>1</sup> did register it in spite of their mediæval ideals of kingship. In spite of vicissitudes in fortune, in spite of contact with contrary doctrines, the Hindu race did not forget the coronation oath devised by their Vedic forefathers. Thanks to sacerdotalism, the oath has been preserved for history and posterity.

§242. Kingship had become hereditary.<sup>2</sup> Yet the theory that Hindu kingship is elective was never forgotten.

This was due to, I think two factors. On failure of the lines, as Megasthenes<sup>3</sup> has recorded, elections had been actually taking place; and the observance of the coronation ceremonials and rituals kept the theory ever green. Even in Moslem times when Śīvaġī was installed as King, 'Chhatrapati,' the ceremony took the form of election. The theory was a living force as late as the time of the Pāla kings of Bengal. Gopāla claims the benefit of the principle of election in his inscription. He says that the people joined his hand with sovereignty and put an end to anarchy<sup>4</sup>. In earlier times the theory was, of course, current in the

1. *Śikṣāṇuṣū* Vitrāṇī Vitrāṇya, p. 92 (Bombay, 1918).

See below, Chapters XXVIII and XXX.

2. *Nāṇḍapāra*, *Āyādyā* K. 21. 22; a. 16.

राज्यं गृह्णाति भक्तं किमुतामहं अ. ७, १७, १८.

3. *Arrhen*, *Indica*, VIII.

4. मातृस्वयंवाक्यमुपोहितुं प्रकृतिभिर्जनैश्च कर्त्तव्यं वाहितः ॥ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, 248.

mouth of sovereigns and peoples. In the second century of the Christian era Rudradāman states in his inscription that he had been 'elected by all the Varnas to kingship.'

§243. By the inscription of the Emperor Khāravela it is evident that Hindu Coronation could not take place before the completion of the twenty-fourth year of the King-elect. One branch of the Jaina literature asserts that Vikrama was crowned in his 25th year. This was the age when ordinarily a Hindu (e.g. Śvetaketu) was supposed to have completed his academic career in the period of Upanishads. The existence of the constitutional law for coronation at the age of twenty-five which the inscription of Khāravela points out, is confirmed by the Brihaspati-Sūtra, I. 89, *pañcha-vimśaticarṣaṇ yācat kṛtā-vidyāṃ vyasanāt kuryāt ata uttaram arthārjanam*, which agrees almost literally with the record of Khāravela.

We have historical examples of the fact that the coronation laws were strictly complied with.

Even Aśoka's family who had accepted heterodox philosophies could not interfere with the orthodox and sacred coronation laws.<sup>1</sup> He was not crowned for four years after his what

we to-day call succession. Evidently he had not completed his twenty-fourth year as in the case of Khāravela. The uncrowned period of his reign in the eye of the Hindu law was a period not to be recognised. If we keep this in view we can understand the provision in Vasiṣṭha's

1 सर्ववर्णैर्भिन्नान्य रत्नद्वयं पतित्वे द्योत । Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII. p. 42.

2 Arthārjanam engagement in commonwealth or political life.

3 His grand-son Dāsuraka mentions his own abdication in his inscription.

Dharma-Sūtra that interest on loan was not to be calculated for the period between the death of the sovereign and the coronation of the new king.<sup>1</sup> The legal years were counted only by regnal years (Rājavarsha).<sup>2</sup> Hence also the Purāṇas do not count the pre-coronation years of Aśoka's reign while they include it in the total for the dynasty.<sup>3</sup> This also shows that a king to be a legal sovereign must receive his royal consecration. The Purāṇas call foreign barbarians of the 6th century *naica-mūrdhābhishiktāḥ-te*, 'unconsecrated heads', i.e., 'usurpers'.<sup>4</sup> Unless one accepted the responsibility by a solemn engagement he was not lawfully entitled to govern. The legalism about coronation was so strong that Kālidāsa in drafting Pushyamitra's letter to Agnimitra takes care not to describe Pushyamitra as king. The preparations for coronation by Rāja-Sūya were still in progress, coronation had not yet taken place. He was therefore not king *de jure*.

1 राजा तु मृतनावेन द्रव्यहृदि विनाशमेतु ।

पुनरावाभिषेकेन द्रव्यमूलं च वधते ॥

—Vāsishtya Dharma-Sūtra, II. 49.

2 राजवर्ष मासः पक्षो दिवसश्च.....इति कालः ।—Artha-Sūtra, p. 60, (II. 2. 24).

3 Jayaswal, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. I. (1916) p. 29; Vol. III. 438.

V. Smith, *Early History of India* (3rd Edition), p. 107.

4 Vāya Purāṇa, Banglor, PT., p. 26.

5 Māhātmyamitra.

The absence of the royal title in the letter gave occasion to much controversy amongst scholars. The constitutional explanation given above might be the real solution. Kālidāsa assumes that he was not yet crowned.

## CHAPTER XXVIA

### Sacrament of Coronation Oath

and

### Theory of Divine Origin of King

§ 241. With the actual observance of the sacrament of Coronation Oath, it was impossible for a theory of origin other than human to take root in Hindu Politics. Even a usurper, as long as he was a Hindu, had to undergo the sacrament of coronation and when he actually took the oath, his old title of force and conquest disappeared. In the second century A. C., when Hindu society had already undergone a great social change as is evinced by the law-books and controversies of the time,<sup>1</sup> even foreigners sought to legalise their position by the sacred, constitutional ceremonies. Rudradāman based his claim on election and his responsibility on the Coronation Oath. No room for a theory like divine origin existed.

This was demonstrated when an attempt at establishing a theory which was the nearest Hindu approach to the divine theory of kingship miserably failed. The Divine Origin of King Mānava Dharma-Śāstra which was written under the revolutionary régime of the Brahmin Pushyamitra<sup>2</sup> preached that the king should not be despised because

<sup>1</sup> E.g. The *Vajrasūkti* of Advaitabhūta :

मात्राणांमहारन्द माह्वर्तोनां सुहृत्पर्यन्तमभियमनदुर्वनात् । अतो जगिमाह्वयो न जयति ।  
इह हि केवर्त्तरसक वयप्राप्त कुपेन्वपि माह्वर्त्ताः सन्ति... एकवर्त्तो, नास्ति चासुर्वर्त्तम् ॥ etc.

Baudhāyana considers the Punjab as a place of mixed vargas. In the period of the Opimishula the Punjab was the home of orthodoxy. But Baudhāyana's workmanship would refer to the period of the rise of Buddhism in the Punjab—Aśoka's Memorial.

<sup>2</sup> His caste is discussed by me in the *Brahma Sampradaya* (1912) a revised edition of which is published in JHMS, 257—258, Vol. VI, 3, 117 on *Sarga*; Pāñā (July) VI, 2, 26 on *Arjuna* 2-7, 10 and TATHAVIDA 31 on *Heavenness Knowledge* Pushyamitra. For connection between the Mānava-dharma-śāstra and Pushyamitra see my

he was only a man ; he was a deity in human form. For this theory the author found no direct support in earlier literature. He uses the theory of politicians, which we have already noticed (§101), that when the people were dissatisfied with the Arājaka system they consulted the Creator who recommended a king. He leaves out the theory about the election of Manu Vaivasvata and takes apparently the story of Vena. He says, God created king to save the people from Arājaka.<sup>2</sup> But he ignores the further tradition of the deposition of Vena of divine origin because he ruled unlawfully. The Mānava Code twists the import of the coronation ritual invoking the help of gods to the elected king in his new career.<sup>3</sup> The Code says that these gods come into the person of the king and he becomes a great Deity.<sup>4</sup> The king is not to be despised. I think the idea of such a theory was suggested by some discussion as the one in the Artha-Śāstra.<sup>5</sup> A man in the pay of the Government was made to say :

Tagore Lectures on Hindu and Vajiravalkya. In the time of the Mānava code the Parthians were neighbours of India but the country of which Marikā was capital was yet unknown ; the country of the Mlechchha was still beyond India proper. This indicates the period about 150 B. C.

1. Mānava Dharmasāstra VII 2.

बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः ।

महती देवता ह्येषा मरुपेषु तिष्ठति ॥

2. *Ibid.* VII, 2.

अराजके हि लोकेऽस्मिन्मरतो चिद्भूते भवतु ।

स्वार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमनुजग्रेतुः ॥

3. In this connection see also the text of the Vājāsneyi Samhitā I. 14. 17, 25 along with corresponding Atharva passages.

4. *Ibid.* VII, 1.

सोऽग्रिमं बलिं वायुञ्ज सोऽकं सोमः स धमेराट् ।

स कुपेः स कृष्णः स महेन्द्रः प्रभातः ॥

5. Artha Śāstra, I. 22. इन्द्रायमन्त्राणां तस्य राजानः प्रत्यहोऽग्रमादाः । तानवमन्त्र-  
मानवदेवोऽपि दृष्टः सृष्टवति । तस्मादराजानो नावमन्तव्यः इति वदन्नामर्त्यधमेतु ।

'The king's office is that of Indra and Yama, "visible inflietor of punishment and bestower of reward. On those who despise them even divine punishment descends. Hence they are not to be *despised*.''

This is urged by the official spy in defence of the new king and was intended to support him, in reply to those who cited the social contract theory of kingship.<sup>1</sup> If there had been a theory of divine origin already current, it would have been cited at once. But no divine origin of king is preached in the passage of the Artha-Sāstra nor is any absolutism preached there. The divine punishment mentioned in the hired speech refers to the consequence of sin which in every case is supposed to be visited with divine punishment; and treason was always regarded as a sin. The Government spy is not advancing any theory of absolutism. He is only drawing attention to the position of the king as such, resembling that of Indra and Yama, and to the sin which would be caused if the people went against the king. The author of the Mānava Code made his king a Divinity itself, to despise which was to be punished with powers of absolutism. And he preached perfect absolutism.<sup>2</sup>

1 See above § 175, a.

2 Mānava Dharma-Sūtra, VII. 13.

एकमेव दहत्यग्निर्न दृग्भवति हिम् ।

कुलं दहति राजाग्निः सर्वमुज्ज्वलं च यम् ॥ ६

कामं न विन्द्य यत्किं न देवकालौ न तत्पतः ।

कुले धर्मसिद्धिर्धर्मं विचरन् पुनः पुनः ॥ १०

यस्य प्रसादे पद्मा श्रीर्गिण्यका पराक्रमे ।

सुस्तुभ वसति क्रोधे सखीमेमयो हि सुः ॥ ११

तं यस्तु द्वेष्टि संमोहात्तल निरवकाशं यम् ।

तस्य शत्रुं विनाशाय शत्रोः प्रकुले मना ॥ १२

तस्माद्धर्मं धर्मिणे न संश्रज्येन्नराधिया ।

अनित्यं चाप्यनित्ये न धर्मं न विनाशयेत् ॥ १३

This he had to do as he had to support an abnormal state of affairs opposed to law and tradition *viz.* political rule by Brahmin.<sup>1</sup>

§ 245. The theory of the Mānava was never approved or adopted by a single subsequent law-book. By constitutional writers the very theory was converted into a divine theory of the servitude of the king to the subject<sup>2</sup>; that the king was a mere servant or slave of the people and that he was made so by the Creator. Even in the Mānava itself, either when it was revised and put in its present form, or originally in its desire to justify the removal of the Mauryas, the theory was superseded by another theory which was inserted immediately below it :—

"The Lord created his own son and made him Law for the protection of the entire living world: it was "endowed with Brahmā's own vigour as Law's Administration "(Danda)."

"Law's Administration is the real king, it is the ruling authority (danda, i.e., executive authority in polity), it is the surety for the population."

"The king who properly employs it, prospers, but if he be selfish, abnormal and deceitful, Danda destroys him.<sup>4</sup> Danda is of great lustre, it cannot be

1 Jayaswal, Tagore Law Lectures on Manusmriti Yajñavalkya, II.

2 See Chs., XXXV, XXXVI, below.

3 Mānava Dharma-Sūtra VII 14.

तदर्थं सर्वभूतानां गोप्तरं धर्ममात्मजम् ।

महातेजोमयं दण्डमस्मज्जलपूर्वमीश्वरः ॥

4 Ibid., VII. 17.

स राजा पुरुषो दण्डः स नेता शासिका च सः ।

चतुर्धासाध्वमाशां च धर्मस्य प्रणिधुः स्मृतः ॥

5 Ibid., VII. 27.

तं राजा प्रशस्यन्त्यस्मिन्नगोष्ठान्निवर्तते ।

कामात्मा विषमः क्षुद्रो दण्डेनैव निहन्त्यते ॥

"held by despots. It strikes down the king who swerves from law, together with his relatives."

Thus the king is again brought under law; he is reduced to his human and contractual status. A higher origin to law was attributed. The king was aggregate of only portions of several gods, but Law and Sanction was produced by Brahmā himself and it was his own son. He came to rule over the king as over the whole world. It was the real sovereign and not the king. In fact the Mānava as a code went back to the old position :

"Only a king who is honest and true to his coronation Oath and follows the Śāstras, and rules with colleagues (ministers) could wield the Danda, not one who is despotic, greedy, stupid, and who rules personally."

He was not only expected to be true to his 'undertaking,' his contract, i.e., his Coronation Oath,\* it was further enjoined on him that he should work with colleagues and should not rule personally. We shall see its significance when we survey the constitutional position of the Hindu Ministry.

§ 246. Divine theory of kingly origin and kingly right could have found soil in Hindu India if there had been no live interest and constitutional jealousy in the people to check such pernicious claims and notions. The

1 *Ibid.*, 25.

इन्द्रो हि धर्महृत्तो दुर्धराचाकृतात्मभिः ।  
धर्माद्विचलितं हन्ति नृपमेव सयान्धवम् ॥

2 *Ibid.*, 30-31.

सोऽज्ज्ञायामेन मृत्युं सुख्येमाकृतमुदिना ।  
न कन्यो न्यायतो नेतुं सत्तेन विषयेषु च ॥ ३०  
शुक्तिना सत्यसन्धेन यथाशास्त्रानुसारिणा ।  
इन्द्रः प्रययितुं वनः क्षत्रहायेन धीमता ॥ ३१

3 On *Saty-Sandha* as referring to 'Oath' cf. *Artha Śāstra*, p. 312. Here it refers to the 'Oath', i. e. the oath of coronation.

Hindu theory of kingship was not permitted to degenerate into a divine imposture and profane autoeracy. Jugglery in the divine name of the Creator was not possible for the Hindu King as the race never allowed the craft of the Priest to be united in the office of the Ruler. The reason why the sceptre of Hindu sovereign never became the wand of magician, was that the matter of constitutional powers of the king, in fact, lay beyond the province of the ritualist and the priest. It lay in the hands of those 'through whose strength' the king had become 'mighty' or vested with the power. It lay in their *Samiti* in the early period. In later times it lay in the equally important machinery—the *Puraṇa* and *Janapada*.

## CHAPTER XXVII

### The Janapada or the Realm Assembly and

### The Paura or the Assembly of the Capital City : (600 B. C. to 600 A. C.)

§ 247. Just about the time of the rise of large monarchies we find developed a popular institution of great constitutional importance. The period succeeding the Vedic, from the Mahā-Bhārata War down to the end of the Brihadrathas (700 B. C.)<sup>1</sup> —is characterised by states which were co-extensive with their respective nations and lands inhabited by them. We may call that period, the epoch of National States and National Monarchies. The Bharatas,<sup>2</sup> and Pañchālas,<sup>3</sup> for instance, had their own national kings; and so had the Videhas; the nation called Aikshvākas (Aita. Br. to Patañjali) had their own king. Earlier than 600 B. C. we find a tendency in Indian states to develop what we may call non-national, territorial Monarchies. The national basis begins to give way to a propensity for encroachment by one national unit upon others, and of amalgamation. Large states arise which are no more national but merely territorial units. We find for instance the old *Aikshvāka-*

<sup>1</sup> Jayaswal, *J. R. O. B. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 16, 33 ; 252.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Taittiriya Saṁhitā of Yajurveda*, एव वो भरता राजा, I. 8. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Āśvalāyana's Śrautasūtra*, VI. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Alta. Br.*, VII. 15, 16 ; Patañjali on *Yājñinī* IV. 2. 104.

*janapada* transforming itself into *Kāśī-Kośala*,<sup>1</sup> and the Magadha-state comprised of the territories of Magadha and Aṅga.<sup>2</sup> The process develops very rapidly between 550 B. C. and 300 B. C. The ground for this had already been prepared philosophically. The Buddha, though a born republican, was ambitious to found a one-state empire of his religion.<sup>3</sup> The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa had preached for an empire extending up to the sea. The Jātakas are full of the ideal of an All-India Empire (*Sākala-Jambudīpeka-rajjan*).

§ 248. In the period of large monarchies or empires, country became more important than the nation (*vīśes* or *janā*). In fact, the term *janapada*, which literally and originally meant 'the seat of the nation' and which had been secondarily employed as denoting the nation itself, lost its old significance, and came to mean what we call to-day country' without reference to the racial elements inhabiting it. In the period of large monarchies we never hear of the *Samiti*. This, of course, is natural. The basis of the *Samiti* was the national unit, and the national unit now ceased to be a factor in matters constitutional.

1 Jalna Siliya, 'Aśvārājya', see above, PT. I, p. 54.

*Buddhist India*, pp. 24-25; *Jānasmāpka Sutta* quoted by Oldenberg, *Buddha* (Eng. trans.) p. 497, f. n. See कालीकौयस्य as one rule in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, II, 9.

2 *Buddhist India*, p. 21; *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, II, 9.

3 Probably not so much religious as philosophy. The difference between the two, as Hegel has described, was very slight. *Mokṣa* certainly made it a religion and a world-religion.

4 See below, Ch. XXXVIII on Hindu Imperial Systems.

5 See *Arthaśāstra*, p. 43, and footnote at p. 43 जनपदो देशः ।

6 The *Jātakas* do not know anything about the *Samiti*. There were numerous occasions to mention it if the *Samiti* did actually exist. The *Dharmasūtras* also do not give any direction, writing on the duties of king as to his relation with the *Samiti*. Nor does the *Mahābhārata* recollect it.

§ 249. We, however, hear of another institution which probably was an incarnation of the old Samiti under changed circumstances.

One of the  
Jānapada  
Assembly

The division of a kingdom in the period between 600 B. C. and 600 A. C. is made into 'the capital' and 'the country'.<sup>1</sup> The former is designated *Pura*<sup>2</sup> or *Nagara*<sup>3</sup> (the City) and occasionally *Durga*<sup>4</sup> (the Fort), and the latter is called *Jānapada*, with synonyms in *Rāshṭra* and *Deśa*. The expression *Jānapada*, a derivative from *janapada*, we find occurring in the Pāli Canon, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahā-Bhārata and other books, and in inscriptions. In our day, it has been taken to mean an inhabitant of *janapada*. Its use as a technical term has been missed. This is due to the fact that the term is generally found in the plural e. g. *jānapadāḥ* (जनपदाः) which has been translated as 'the people of the *Janapada*.' Modern writers have further made the mistake of regarding *Janapada* as a province which is against all ancient authority. It really means the whole area of a kingdom, minus the capital constitutionally.<sup>5</sup> The technical significance of the *Jānapada* as a collective institution has now been established by Kṛṣṇa-raṇa's inscription of c. 165 B. C.<sup>6</sup> Mediaeval commentators not knowing that there was a collective institution *Jānapada*, 'corrected' the singular form into the plural *Jānapadāḥ*. A

1 The Jātakas and Pāli Canon have *Jānapada* and *Nigama*. *Nigama* as will be seen, is constitutionally identical with *Nagara*. The *Artha-Sūtra* has *Janapada* and *Durga*; the Rāmāyaṇa, *Nagara* (also *Durga*), and *Jānapada* (बने वत्सवान्धहं दून रामो राजा भविष्यति) II. 79. 12.

2 पुरं मुच्यन्ताम् । *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 11.

3 Cf. *Artha-Sūtra*, p. 16 f. n. नगरं राजधानी ।

4 Cf. the modern *burg* ('fort') to denote the seat of the ruler, also German *schloss*.

5 *Artha-Sūtra*, pp. 15-6. n.

6 Jayaswal, *J. B. O. B. S.*, (1917) III, p. 388.

very good example of this is verse 54 ( ch. XIV ) of the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa.<sup>1</sup> King Daśaratha is sought to be intimated : "The Paura, the Jānapada, and "the Naigama are present respectfully waiting for Rāma's "consecration ( as Crown-Prince )". The verb *upatiśṭhati* ( 'is waiting' ) is in the singular and this requires the subjects in each case joined on by *cha* ( 'and', 'as well as' ) to be in the singular. But in the text only the *Naigama* ( corporate association of guild-merchants of the capital ) is kept in the singular and the word *Jānapada* has been altered into a plural nominative and plural instrumental.<sup>2</sup> The instrumental form is resorted to for a forced grammatical justification ( 'the Jānapadas with the Naigama' ). The correct reading, in the nominative singular, *Jānapadaścha*, is still found in some MSS. But it is rejected by modern editors as incorrect.<sup>3</sup>

§250. The plural *jānapadāḥ* may equally denote 'the members of the jānapada-institution' as well as 'the people of janapada.' The plural form does not exclude the institutional significance. That there was such a body can be established if we find the term used in the singular, not in the sense of one man but in the collective sense, or if we find the plural *jānapadāḥ* in a collective sense. We have instances of both these uses. Moreover, we have evidence of the fact that *jānapadas* as bodies corporate had their own laws and those laws were recognised by the Dharma-Śāstras.

उपतिष्ठति रामस्तु समपमन्त्रिष्वगम् ।

पौरजानपदाश्चापि नैगमश्च कृताञ्जलिः ॥ 11. 14. 54.

Gortchakara in his comment on the variant उपतिष्ठति says : वदोऽन्वयवर्त्मनि इत्या-  
स्मन्नेपद्म् । उपतिष्ठतिमित्यर्थे । उपतिष्ठतीति पाठान्तरम् । Four MSS. give the reading  
उपतिष्ठति in the Kumbakonam Edition.

॥ पौरजानपदाश्चापि नैगमश्च कृताञ्जलिः or कृतात्मजिः, variant reading in MSS.

commented in Kumbakonam edition

2 See the critical edition of the Rāmāyaṇa by Maass, Kāśyapacharya & Vyāsaticharya  
I, p. 68 (MS. "2" ), which is really a valuable edition.

There is the unquestionable evidence afforded by the Hathigumphā inscription of Khāravela, which says that the king granted privileges to the *Jānapada* (in the singular, *Jānapadam*). The evidence of the Rāmāyaṇa referred to above is equally important. The *Jānapada* was waiting for the consecration of the King-Assistant. They, the *Jānapadas*, according to the Rāmāyaṇa, had already come to a unanimous decision in a joint conference with the *Pauras* and others on the question of this proposed consecration. The resolution was: 'we desire this consecration'.

In the *Mānava-Dharma-śāstra*, the laws of caste (*Jāti*), of *Jānapada*, and guild (*śreṇī*) are recognized. It is undoubted that the other

1 Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa, ch. II, vs. 20-22.

समेत्य ते मन्त्रयित्वा समतांगतबुद्धयः ।

ऊचुरथ मनसा ज्ञात्वा वृद्धं दशरथं वृषम् ॥

... ..  
स रामं युवराजानमनिक्लिक्त्व पार्श्वे ।

इच्छामो हि महाबाहुं रघुवीरं महाबलम् ॥

See also Daśaratha's speech in reply :

कथं नु मयि धर्मश्च पृथिवीमनुपालति ।

भवन्तो द्रष्टुमिच्छन्ति युवराजं महाबलम् ॥

2 Manu, VIII, 41.

राजिजानपदान्धर्मोऽन्धो धर्मोऽन्धो धर्मोऽन्धो ।

समोऽप्य कुलधर्मोऽप्य स्वधर्मो प्रतिपादयेत् ॥

3 *Śreṇī* literally means 'row'. Evidently the members sat in rows, and this feature gave the name to the corporate body. Probably *śreṇī* originally was a general term to signify all those bodies which transacted their business in their 'assembly' or by assembly system. The Mahā-Bhārata in other passages gives *Śreṇī* as *śreṇī* or 'rulers organized in rows', e.g., *Saṁskṛta-Purāṇa* XIV. 1. (Kumbhakara Ed.).

राजानः ये शिखराश्च तथान्ये राज्ञिना मुचि ।

These may refer to republican rulers or to a military organization, the *Artha-Samithi* having served as a military division. In lawbooks, general literature, and inscriptions, *Śreṇī* has acquired the technical meaning of guild.

two institutions of this group were corporate institutions. The Code of Yājñavalkya mentions jānapadas, gaṇas, śrenis and jātis (castes) as units who "also must be compelled to follow their own laws".<sup>1</sup> Mandlik with the true insight of the lawyer leaves the word *jānapadāḥ* untranslated and treats it as a technical term like the *gaṇa* and *śreni*. These two *smṛiti* passages similarly mention another institution *Kula*. We have already seen that there was a *Kula* form of Government. To find out the identity of *Kula*, let us take parallel passages on the point from the *Artha-Śāstra*. In the chapter dealing with *samaya* <sup>2</sup> or resolutions of corporate institutions ( p. 173 ) Kautilya mentions the *samaya* of *Deśa-saṃgha*, *Jāti-saṃgha*, and *Kula-saṃgha*: i. e., of the country-corporate-association, of caste-corporate-association and the corporate association of a *Kula*. The *Kula-saṃgha* as we have seen <sup>3</sup> is a technical term of Hindu politics. It means a constitution where *Kula* or family rules, i. e., an aristocratic or oligarchic state. Again at page 407 *Deśa-saṃgha*, *Grāma-saṃgha* and *Jāti-saṃgha* are mentioned. The

1. *Yājñavalkya* I. 200 and 281.

न्यवहृतान्स्वयं धयेत्सन्धिः परिवृत्तोऽन्यदम् ।  
कुलानि जातोः श्रेयश्च गव्यान्जातमप्यापि ॥ ३६०  
स्वधर्मो बलितान् राजा विमोक्ष्य स्वधर्मोत्तमम् ।  
धामधे विमलान् राजा सङ्कलः समपक्षिणः ॥

*Grāmasamaya* quoted in *Vismatrasaṃgraha*, p. 122. See below.

2. देशजातिगुलसंघानां समयस्यानपेक्षम् ।

3. See § 87 above.

*Mānava-dharma-sāstra*<sup>1</sup> deals with the 'breakers of *samayas*' (resolutions or laws of corporate assemblies) and mentions the *Grāma-saṃgha* and the *Deśa-saṃgha* which are paraphrased again as *Grāma-samūha*, *Jāti-samūha*, etc. *Deśa*, or the *Jānapada* association is also found in *Bṛihaspati*<sup>2</sup> where the laws of guild-merchant and the laws of *Deśa* are referred to together. In another verse<sup>3</sup> the resolutions of the 'town' and of the 'country' (*Deśa*), 'not being opposed to the laws of the king' are provided for. *Manu* (VIII. 41), instead of *Jāti-saṃgha* gives *Jāti* only, and instead of *Deśa-saṃgha*, mentions *Jānapada*. In VIII. 46, in the place of *Jānapada*, *Deśa* is substituted. By *Deśa* in such passages the

1. *Manu* VIII. 218-221.

अथ कर्तुं प्रवक्ष्यामि धर्मं समयेनेदिनान् ॥ १८  
यो ग्रामदेशसङ्घानां कृत्वा सत्येन संविदम् ।  
चिसंवदेकरो लोभात् राष्ट्राद्विप्रवासयेत् ॥ १९

एवं दण्डविधिं कुपांश्चास्मिकः पृथिवीपतिः ।  
ग्रामजातिसमूहेषु समयव्यभिचारिणाम् ॥ २१

2. देशस्थित्यानुमानेन नैवमानुमतेन वा ।  
क्रियते निर्वाच्यतत्र व्यवहारस्तु वाध्यते ॥

—(quoted in *Vinayakṛandya*, p. 120.

3. ग्रामो देशश्च यत्कुर्वीतस्तत्सर्वं परस्परम् ।  
राजाविरोधिधर्म्मार्थं संवित्पत्रं वदन्ति तत् ॥

—Bylanquet quoted in *Vinayakṛandya*, p. 120. See also Yājñavalkya:

निजधर्म्माविरोधेन वास्तु सामयिको भवेत् ।  
सोऽपि यत्नेन संरक्तो धर्म्मो राजकृतश्च यः ॥

association *Deśa samgha* or the *Jānapada* is obviously meant. Similarly, when a document registered by the *Deśa-adhyaksha* is termed by Vyāsa the law-giver a *Jānapada* document, the *adhyaksha* of *Deśa* is the President of the *Deśa* assembly or the *Jānapada*.<sup>1</sup> The above data prove that the *Jānapada* of Manu and Yājñavalkya and the *Deśa-samgha* of Manu and Kautilya are identical. The corporate association *Jānapada* or *Deśa-Samgha* as the name signifies, was a body for the whole country (except, as we shall presently see, the capital).

§ 251. The *Jānapada* yet has another synonym in *Rāshtra*, which is found in later works. In the *Daśakumāra-charita* (Ch. 3), the president of the *Jānapada* is called *Janapada-mahattara* (Lord High President). Further on, the same person is called the *Rāshtra-mukhya* or the Leader of the Realm (Assembly).

In a manuscript of Mitramiśra's unpublished commentary on Yājñavalkya<sup>2</sup> I find, in connection with the

1. Aparāśka (Y., II, 92) quotes the verses of Vyāsa on the subject dealing with documentary evidence:—

द्वित्रिलिपिज्ञः स्वकृतेन स्वलेख्येन युक्तिभिः ।  
 कुर्याद्वि सद्यः लेख्यं तस्मान्न जानपदं द्युम्नम् ॥  
 देवाध्याजादिना लेख्यं यत्र जानपदं कृतम् ॥

Vyāsa was deeper of insight than observed in the case of a document written even in the hand-writing of the executor, for a cunning man may write several kinds. A *Jānapada* document therefore, 'done', i.e., registered by the *Deśa-jamhika* or others (i.e., his officers as in the case of government registration by the officer of the king. *Gitop.*, VII, 2. 'राजाधिकरणं तद्विदुक्तकायस्थकृतं तद्व्यवहारविहितं राजसाक्षितं') was a great jewel (see § 249).

2. Cf. *Mitramiśra* (Bk. II, verse 25, v. 10. *हामधोवमहतराः* । The *Upana* commentary has *पामे घोषे च वर्तमाना महतराः*, (*Govindarāja*, *महतराः प्रधानभूताः* । (*Glosses* according to *Pratijñā* and *Kāryāyama* was a small township with corporate arms and seal. Pt. I, p. 148).

3. *Mitramiśra* on *Yājñavalkya* kindly loaned to me by Mr. Govindarāja of Benares.

subject of relief which could not be granted or suits which could not be entertained (*anādeya-vyavahāra*), that a suitor who was hostile to the *Paura*, i.e., the City Assembly of the Capital (see below), or to the *Rāshtra* was not to be granted relief. The authority quoted is that of Brihaspati. A similar verse is given in the *Vīramīrodaya* (*Vyavahāra*) at page 44, where instead of *Paura*, the reading is *Pura*, capital. The expressions *Pura* and *Rāshtra* are explained by Mitra-Misra as *Paura-Jānapada*. *Rāshtra* here thus stands for the *Jānapada*-body as it does in the *Daśakumāra-charita*.

§ 252. Before dealing with the functions of the *Jānapada* it would be convenient to notice the corporate association of the Capital. The Capital  
*The Paura* Assembly is a twin sister of the *Jānapada* in constitutional matters. The two are almost always mentioned together, and sometimes one stands for both.

*Paura* does not relate to all the towns in the kingdom as it has been translated by both Indians and Europeans. Earlier Hindu writers understood by the technical *Pura* and *Nagara*, 'the Capital.' *Paura* as a corporate body is mentioned in the singular like *Jānapada* in the inscription of *Khāravēla* (C. 165 B. C.)<sup>1</sup> who granted privileges to the *Paura*. In the Corporate sense it is clearly mentioned again in the *Divyāvadāna* where *Kunāla* is supposed to have entered the *Paura* (used in singular, that is, the *Paura* assembly). *Tishya-rakshitā* addressed her forged letter according to the *Divyāvadāna* to the *Pauras*, i.e., an organised body. The

1 J.R.O.S., III 12.

2 - *Divyāvadāna*, p. 110

author of the *Vīramitrodaya* definitely states that the Paura, which occurs along with corporate bodies in the law-books, was 'the body of the citizens of the capital.'

Pura meant the Capital (§ 253). Samūha is a well-known constitutional term in Hindu Law. Kātyāyana, for instance, defines pūga, which according to the accepted interpretation means a 'guild', as the 'samūha' of merchants and others.<sup>1</sup> Brihaspati, the lawyer, describes bodies already known to us to have been assembly-ruled organisations,<sup>2</sup> e. g., pūga, gāṇa, saṃgha, as samūhastha vargas (§258) or 'bodies incorporated'.<sup>3</sup> Mitra-misra quotes a text based upon Bṛhgu which calls grāma, paura, gāṇa, and śrenī, 'vargins' i.e. what Brihaspati has as 'samūhastha vargas' [grāma here is not the village but the Village-Association as Chaṇḍeśvara the lawyer of Mithilā defines: Grāmo grāma-vāsisamūhah, p. 179]. Chaṇḍeśvara explains samūhasthah by 'militāh', 'combined.'<sup>4</sup> Kātyāyana speaks of separate laws of the samūhas.<sup>5</sup> Samūha which ordinarily means a collection has, thus, a technical, constitutional sense—an organized body.<sup>6</sup>

1 पौरः पुष्पासिनां समूहः । *V.M.*, p. 11.

2 समूहः बलिजादीनां पुराः संग्रहीतः । Cited by Chaṇḍeśvara, *Vedānta K.*, p. 690.

3 That is, 'the assembly of the Jainas or Buddhists' आहंस्त्रीगतानां तु समूहः सङ्घः इष्यते ।

*Kātyāyana* in *VR*, 669.

4 गङ्गापद्मवद्व्याम्य ज्ञाताम्य भेदवस्तथा ।

समूहस्याम्य ते ज्ञान्ये वर्गाज्वास्ते बृहस्पतिः ॥ *Ibid.*

5 ग्रामपौरसङ्घश्चेद्वरचतुर्विजाम्य वर्गिजः । *V.M.* (*Vyavahāra*), p. 11.

6 *VR* 633, (समूहस्था मिलिताः).

7 समूहानां तु यो धर्मस्तेष्व धर्मेषु ते सदा । *Ibid.*, 180.

8 Cf. Mitra-Misra's comment on another corporate body (Śāstha), मिलितो जनसंघः

'associated body of men', *V.M.*, p. 11.

Yajñavalkya provides for punishing those who act contrary to the decision of the 'samūha well-wishers', *Ibid.*, p. 179.

Kātyāyana provides for a dispute between Samūha and its leader, *VR.*, 184.

Amara and Kāṭya, lexicographers, in giving the meanings of *Prakṛiti* say that the term means amongst others, the *Pauras*, i.e., 'the Associations (Śrenayah) of the Pauras'.

In the Rāmāyaṇa, the *Paura-Jānapada* body is appealed to by Bharata when Rāma refuses to go back to Ayodhyā :—

"What do you order his Highness".<sup>1</sup> The body approves of the argument of Rāma, and in reply Bharata speaks, addressing them :—

'Hear, please, you my assemblies'.<sup>2</sup> The assembly character thus was prominent.

§253. The *Paura* was a communal association in which was vested the municipal administration of the Capital.

Apart from its municipal work it exercised great constitutional powers. Let us first take the Municipal administration of the *Paura*.

<sup>1</sup> अमोलायावपि पौराण्य सङ्घः प्रकृतयः स्मृताः । Kāṭya, quoted by Kaṭhavarṇana on Amara. II. 2, 18 राज्याङ्गानि प्रकृतयः पौराणां श्रेयसोऽपि न । Dvandvām Sanskrit Section, ms. A, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> आसीनस्त्वेव भरतः पौराण्यपदं ब्रूयत् ।

उवाच सर्वतः प्रेक्ष्य किमर्थं शत्रुधासथ ॥ B.-A K. III. 19.

<sup>3</sup> श्रुयन्तु मे परिषदः सन्निवः श्रुयन्तुस्तथा । Ibid., 24.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. मन्दौत्तुक्वोऽस्मि नगरागमं प्रति, Nāṭyaśāstra, Act II. पुरं शुक्यनगरम्—*Pratimāśāstra*, p. 11. The term for ordinary town or township is *ग्राम* or *ग्रामपौराण्य*. श्रेयसावतुर्विधायनं दक्षिणः । Ibid. The *Śāstra* uses the word *नगर* and *पुर* for the capital, and *ग्राम* for ordinary town. Pāṇini and Patañjali use *नगर* and *पुर* for capital and *ग्राम* for ordinary town. Cf. Pāṇini VII. 2, 14 and Kaṭhavarṇana cited; also VI. 2, 100. Patañjali, on the use of *ग्राम* for town, वाक्यं नाम बाह्यीकग्रामः on Pāṇini IV. 2, 104. *Śāstra* which was the old capital of the Maurya seemed to be a *नगर* or capital under Pāṇinimura. It is probably for this reason called a *ग्राम*, an ordinary town.

It was presided over by a leading citizen generally a merchant or a banker. The Hindu Mayor was called *Śreshṭhin* or the President. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Paura as well as the Jānapada consisted of two sections, the Inner and the Outer bodies. The Inner must have been the executive council which sat permanently. We hear often of the Paura and the *Nagara-Vṛiddhas*, or the Elders of the Paura. On the analogy of other popular institutions of the country we can say that the Paura-Vṛiddhas constituted a Council of Elders which was probably identical with the Inner body of the Rāmāyaṇa. An exception is made in the Dharma-Sūtras to the general rule of etiquette in the case of a Paura ex-member of the Śūdra caste who is entitled

See also *Artha-Sūtra*, p. 18 (3. नगरं राजधानी. The commentator commenting on the *vāgavahā* in *Vākyārtha-Kāma-Sūtra* (III, II, (5), 5) says:

नागरिका इति पादलिपुत्तिकाः ।

On *Durgā* as equivalent of *Parāśara*—संज्ञेस्मयं राजा दुर्गे जनये तथा, *Vijayānandya*, p. 125. नगर is Aśoka's inscription means a provincial capital as well. Manu, vii, 29 divides the kingdom into दुर्ग and राष्ट्रः

ततो दुर्गं च राष्ट्रं च लोकान्च सचराचरम् ।

For दुर्ग and पुर as capital, see Manu VII, 70 :

यन्तदुर्गं महोदुर्गमन्तदुर्गं वासंमेव वा ।

रुदुर्गं तिरिदुर्गं वा समाश्रित्य कोरुदुर्गम् ॥

वासंमेव जनः सर्वो राष्ट्रं पुरमेव तथा ।

आन्वन्तराच वाह्यश्च पौरजनपदो जनः ॥ (AK.)

The whole nation in the Rāshtra as well as in the host of capitals prizes him, (Hence the *Parāśara-Jānapada* body—both the Inner and the Outer—prizes him. It should be noticed that the *Parāśara-Jānapada* is taken as distinct from the people in the realm and the capital. The two bodies Inner and Outer are mentioned in the *Mahā-Bhārata* also. See below ch. untarned. For *jana* in the collective sense, see its use in Aśoka's inscriptions, Pillar-series VII. जन धर्मयुतं—the body of the men in the Dharma Service (Department).

to special respect even from a Brahmin. This shows that the Paura had a real popular basis representing even the lowest interest.

§254. The Paura had a Registrar and a document given by him was regarded as a superior kind of evidence.<sup>1</sup> The Registrar's document was the chief of the *lankika lekhyas* or popular documents as opposed to *rajakya* or government documents. This shows that Paura was not a body appointed by the king.

The non-political functions of the Paura which are mentioned in the law books are these :

(a) Administration of Estates: They were authorised by the king to administer, along with government officers, property left by a deceased person<sup>2</sup> ( *Vasishtha XVI. 20* ).

1 *Gautama Dharma Sūtra (Sūtra) VI. 9.11.*

A Brahmin who ordinarily is never expected to do any honour to a Śūdra has to get up when a Śūdra who is an ex-member of the Paura came through he be below eighty. Further, Sūtra 15 lays down an exception with regard to etiquette between Pautas. Even if the difference in age were of ten years, fellow-Pautas were to treat each other as if born on the same day (14-15).

श्रुतिकृत्वपुत्रपितृव्यमातुलानां तु यवीयसां प्रत्युत्पादं नाभिवाधाः ॥ ६ ॥

तथान्वः पूर्वः पौरोऽधोत्तिकारः गृहोऽप्यप्यसमेन ॥ १० ॥

अपरोऽप्यार्यः गृहे च ॥ ११ ॥

नाम काश्च वर्जयितु ॥ १२ ॥

भो भवन्निति वयस्वः समानेऽहनि वातः ॥ १४ ॥

यगवर्षवृद्धः पौरः ॥ १५ ॥

2 *Vasishtha*, edited by Pathak, p. 81.

विरक्तं नाम लिखितं पुराणैः पौरलेखकैः ।

Also *Vijñāna S. VII. 8, 13*, the survival in Bengal family this *Pura-Kāyastha*.

3 *Vasishtha Dharma Sūtra (Sūtra) XVI. 30-20.*

प्रहोषद्व्याधि राजगामोनि भवन्ति ॥१६॥

ततोऽन्यथा राजा मन्त्रिभिः सह नागरैश्च काव्याधि कुप्यते ॥१७॥

तथानाचद्विद्वद्वा संस्कारो यजनक्रिया । *Brhaspati, Vratavivadaya*, p. 125.

यस्यद्वयं ग्रामहृत्वा वर्षेपुराण्यहारप्रायश्चात् देवद्वयम् । Elders of the township should increase property of minors till they attain capacity-at-law. They should do the same with regard to the property of gods. — *Arzha Sūtra*, p. 46.

(b) Works which contributed to the material strength of the citizens (called 'Paushtika' works) were done by them, and likewise,

(c) Works which ensured the peace of the city (*śāntika*), i.e., policing the town. These two classes of work are qualified as being either 'ordinary', 'extra-ordinary', or 'discretionary'.

(d) Judicial work,<sup>1</sup> which must have been limited to the matter of municipal administration. Criminal authority proper, i.e., in cases of the *Sāhasa* (Violence) class, is expressly excepted from the jurisdiction of the Paura Court. According to an authority quoted by Mitra Miśra, probably Bhṛigu, as well as others, the Paura Court was an institution recognised by the king.

(e) Charge of sacred and public places. The Paura, like any township, looked after temples and other sacred places of the Capital. They did repairs to those buildings. The buildings named are *śābhā*, *prapā* (place for distribution of water), *tātāka* (public baths), *ārāma* (rest-houses), and *devagrīha* (temples).<sup>2</sup>

- 1 तत्त्वं नैमित्तिकं काम्यं शान्तिकं पौष्टिकं तथा ।  
पौराणां कर्म कुर्व्यं स्ते संक्षिप्ये निश्चयं तथा ॥

—Bṛhaspati in the *Vṛnastredaga*, p. 121.

वाटचौरभये वाधाः सर्वसाधारणाः स्मृताः ।  
ततोपशमनं कार्यं सर्वैर्देकेन केनचित् ॥ *Ibid.*

- 2 See last note. संक्षिप्ये निश्चयं तथा ।

Also धामपौरगण्ये त्वयश्चातुर्विधः वर्गिकः ।

कुलानि कुलिकाश्चैव नियुक्ता उपतिष्ठता ॥

—*Vṛnastredaga*, p. 11.

- 3 साहसत्यापवर्जानि कुपुः काम्याणि ते दद्यान् ।

—Bṛhaspati in the *Vṛnastredaga*, p. 40.

- 4 धर्मकार्यमपि संभूय कार्यं सित्युक्तं तेनैव—

समाप्रसादेव गृह्यतदाकारानसंभूतः ॥

—Bṛhaspati in the *Vṛnastredaga*, p. 40.

*Arāma* meant both a 'rest-house' and a 'park-garden.'

§256. I propose to identify the description of the municipal government noticed by Megasthenes at Pāṭaliputra, with the Paura organisation of Hindu India. Strabo,<sup>1</sup> after giving the description of Pāṭaliputra describes its administration. The most important point to mark in that is the phrase 'the City Magistrates' which in the mouth of a Greek will signify popular officers and not officers appointed by the king. The royal officer, Governor of the City, the 'Nāgaraka', as described in the Artha-Śāstra was distinct. These 'city magistrates' had six boards of five members each who looked after-

(a) industrial matters of the city,  
 (b) foreigners in the city on whose death they administered their properties (forwarded them to their relatives),<sup>2</sup>

(c) registration of births and deaths in the city,  
 (d) trade and commerce and manufactures of the city and collection of municipal duty on the sale of articles. "Such are the functions which these bodies separately discharged. In their collective capacity they have charge both of their special departments and also of matters affecting the general interests, as the keeping of public buildings in repairs, regulation of prices, the care of markets, harbours and temples."

1 Strabo, III. XV.26 (4-11). Compare the "magistrates of self-government" as opposed to royal officers in Arrian XII.

2 A scholar who does not take enough notice of Hindu authorities as he draws on analogies and comparisons has misunderstood this Paura institution of the Maurya period as a consular department borrowed from Persia.

It should be noticed that the Paura administered estates in co-operation with the ministers, according to Vasubandhu (XVI. 20).

§257. The 'city magistrates' of Strabo are the *Paura-mukhyas* or the *Paura-vridhdhas*. The boards of five and the full board of the thirty disclose the same arrangement as the quorums of three, five, ten, twenty and upwards in the Parishads of Law, the Buddhist Samgha, and the *pañchaka*, *daśaka* and *vimsaka* samghas of Patañjali.<sup>1</sup> Brihaspati also enjoins committees of five in corporate associations.<sup>2</sup> In the Buddhist Samgha certain matters could be discussed by small quorums. But matters of greater importance could be discussed and decided by quorums of twenty and upwards only.<sup>3</sup> In the description of the Paura of Pataliputra we see that the council decides matters of general interest by the bigger quorum. This collective council of the 'city magistrates' corresponds to what the Rāmāyana calls the Inner Body of the Paura. The Outer, the general body, must have been composed of a fairly large number, when the Inner alone had thirty members.

§258. *Grāma* or Township is called a *vargā* as seen above. *Varga* means an assembly or quorum. In that sense

*Varga* Pāṇini also uses it (V. I. 60, [ See Kāśikā on it :

पञ्चको वर्गः दशको वर्गः ]. Other corporate associations are called *Vargins* ( those who worked by the *Varga* or assembly system ). In a law text ( Bhṛigu ) quoted by Mitra Miśra ( *Vīramitrodaya* p. 11 ) *Paura* and *grāma* as well as *gana* are called *vargins* [ Cf. Kātyāyana quoted by Nīlakantha :

1 Patañjali on Mīmāṃsā V. I. 38 and 59

2 द्वौ त्रयः पञ्च वा कार्याः समूहदित्वादिभिः ।

कर्तव्यं वचनं तेषां ग्रामार्थे विधानादिभिः ॥

— *Vīramitrodaya* p. 137.

3 *Mahāvargga*, IX. 4. 1. पञ्च संघा । चतुर्वर्गो निम्बसुसंघो पञ्चवर्गो निम्बसुसंघो दशवर्गो निम्बसुसंघो बीसतिवर्गो निम्बसुसंघो अतिरेकबीसतिवर्गो निम्बसुसंघो । See also IX. 3. 6, 118.

लिङ्गिनः श्रेणिपुत्राश्च वणिज्जातास्तथापरे ।

समूहस्थाश्च ये चान्ये वर्गास्तानब्रवीद्भृगुः ॥ ]

The *vargas* of Vāsudeva and Akṛūra are mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, IV. 2. 2. *Varga* in the corporate sense is employed by Gautama in his *Dharma Sāstra*, Chapter XI, *Sūtras* 20—21 :

देशजातिकूलधर्माश्चालायेरविरुद्धाः प्रमाणम् ।

कर्षक-वणिक्-पशुपाल-कुसीदि-कारवः स्वे स्वे वर्गे ॥

"The laws of the cultivators, merchants, cattle-breeders, "bankers and artisans should be authority in their own "corporations." It should be noted that cultivators had their own unions in the days of Gautama.

§ 259. The *P a a r a*, according to the *Artha-Sāstra* (p. 89), had gold coins minted at the royal mint. This might have been a constitutional function as Naigama and its connection with Pāra exercising check on the royal minting of improper coins or it might have been a purely economic function. Very likely it was the latter.<sup>1</sup> The *Pura* or capital had the Association of the City Merchants which was called the *Naigama*.<sup>2</sup> This name was exclusively employed to the Guild of the City Merchants. It is wrong to take it, as it has been done up to this time, as a general term for Guild Merchants.

1. Up to our times the custom of getting coins coined by merchants was current in this country.

2. *नैगमाः पौरवणिजाः*, *Mitra Mitra*, *Flower-orchestra*, p. 120; also *नगराणि कस्वजितानि मिमन्वणिजां स्वानानि* *Prasāda-Pāṇḍita*, *Śāstra-Pāṇḍita* quoted by *Śāstra-Pāṇḍita*, *Artha-Sāstra* p. 46 f. n. The latter is not a synonym in the list of synonyms leading to it.

*वापयद्-नैगम-श्रेणि-पुत्र-वात-वर्णादिषु* *Harada* quoted in VII. p. 180.

*श्रेणि-नैगम-वापयद्-वर्णादिषु* *Harada* quoted in VII. p. 170.

*Prasāda* has no more the *Harada* and *Śāstra* religious associations (like *gurus* and

The general term is *Śroni* as well as *Pūga*, the difference between the two being not very clear.<sup>1</sup> Now it appears that originally the Naigama of the capital was the mother of the Paura Association. The Paura grew out of around the Naigama (§ 201). In the Jātakas and Pāli Canon Naigama (Negama) stands for Paura.<sup>2</sup> Modern translators have translated it by 'town'. It really refers to 'the town' or Capital. Hīnō commentators on law books equate Naigama with Paura.<sup>3</sup> In the Pāli books Naigama comes with Janapada as in Sanskrit books Paura comes with Janapada. The connection between the City guild of merchants and the City Corporation was so intimate that both came to be regarded as identical. This is the reason why the mercantile interest is predominant in the Paura.<sup>4</sup> The Rāmāyaṇa mentions the Naigama always with the Paura and treats them as connected though distinct.<sup>5</sup> The Naigama had its assembly hall and office—*sabha*, where it held its meetings as the Paura-Jānapādas held theirs in their *sabhās* and on their squares.<sup>6</sup> We find a donor, a nobleman, recording at this Naigama-Sabha his investments with certain guilds, *śreṇis*, of the town Govardhana, the interest to go to certain charities in perpetuity. M. Senart translates the passage in question thus—"all this has been proclaimed (and) registered at

1. *Ustad-Hindustani* were considered as *Prūṭas*. See Potanjarī on Pāṇini V. 2. 21.

2. *Jātaka*, Vol. I p. 149. **सखे नेगमजागये**; *Kāśikānta Sutta* *Dharmacāṇḍya*, para. 12. नेगमा च पुर जागयस्व च ते भव राजा क्षामन्तपते ।

3. *Charyācharya*, VII pp. 157, 159. नेगमाः पौराः, नेगमाः पौरसमुद्रः

4. Cf. *Sandakha* who is always a rich merchant, see below on the composition of the Paura.

5. *Rāmāyaṇa* V. 6. 147, 148.

6. **गुणैः समुदितान् हष्टा पौराः पारदुधतोस्तदा ।**

**कथयन्तस्मिन्मूर्ध्नि चत्वारो समाह्वयः ॥**

—*Buddh-Mūlānta* quoted by Mītra Mītra in *UHP* p. 40.

"the town's hall, at the record office, according to custom".<sup>1</sup> Naigama thus was connected with, and probably over, the Śrenis or guilds of the City.

§ 260. The Paura being so pronouncedly mercantile, their getting coins minted at the royal mint we can take as an economic measure. The 'N e g a m a c o i n s' which are 'N e g a m a c o i n s' interpreted as coins struck by guilds, are, I think, to be interpreted as coins struck at the capital by the state for the association of the City Merchants or the Paura.<sup>2</sup> And the coins bearing the name of chief towns, e.g. Ujeniya,<sup>3</sup> can be thus explained as being Paura coins.<sup>4</sup>

§ 261. The literal significance of N i g a m a, from which Naigama is derived, is in accordance with Pāṇini, III. 3. 119, 'the place (or house) where-into people resort.' It would have been the meeting-place or the bourse in the Capital where merchants and tradesmen in the Capital met. The body of the people associated with the N i g a m a, the bourse or the guildhall, were called N a i g a m a.

<sup>1</sup> Nashik cave inscription, *E. J.*, VIII. 92. Text:—

"मोक्षर्षेण-वायवाह भ्रेग्निह कोलीकनिकाये २००० वृषि पद्धिस्ततः...एत व सर्व स्वाधित निगम-सनाय निवध च पल्लवारे वरिष्ठतोति ।" (*Charitra* was recorded in books, see *AS.*, II. 25, p. 62. *Charitra* may mean 'as *Charitra* was recorded'; *Śrēṇītha* according to law books would mean 'attested'. The transaction was attested' at the Nigama Sabha, i.e., by registration. These methods of attestation included both 'witnessing' and 'bearing'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Artho-hisra*, p. 80, सौवर्णिकः पौरतानवद्गर्भा रूप्यसुवर्णं मापेगविभिः कारयेत् ।

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol XIV., p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> The *Dyaka* coin bearing the word नैगम (Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 64, pl. III) would signify that the name of the capital was Dyaka. See also the *Emu* coin (*A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV. p. 148, *C. A. I.*, pp. 92-102).

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### Political Functions

of

#### The Jānapada and the Paura

§ 262. The Jānapada appears to have been concerned with matters mainly constitutional and political. All the references to their work are to such business, with one or two exceptions, e. g., that they got gold coins minted by the royal mint-master.<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been a business of economic nature. Apparently they had to judge as to the number of coins necessary in the country for the purposes of exchange, and probably they exercised some sort of supervision as to weight and purity of the coins, as debasement of coinage by government is found recorded once or twice as a matter of public complaint.

§ 263. In all constitutional matters we find the Paura always appearing with Jānapada. The Paura had thus a double character, as a local self-administration of the capital and a constitutional assembly. The latter function they sometimes discharged, as we shall see, by themselves, especially in provincial capitals. Matters of importance were discussed and decided in a joint parliament of the two bodies, the Jānapada and the Paura. Their unity then is so complete that the bodies are regarded as one and referred to as one in the singular. The unity was effected owing to the fact that Jānapada had its meeting place and office at the capital itself.<sup>2</sup>

Coinage and Jānapada.

Constitutional functions which the Paura-Jānapada were supposed to do.

<sup>1</sup> *Artha Śāstra*, II, 14, 32.

<sup>2</sup> See reference in the *Arthashastra* discussed below § 261, and other references indicating their location at capital.

§ 264. Let us take examples of the business they used to transact. The Pauras and the Jānapadas meet together along with Brahmins and other leaders of the nation to resolve upon the appointment of a Yuvarāja or king-assistant.<sup>1</sup> They after their deliberations ask the king to consecrate the prince whom, they say, "we want."<sup>2</sup>

1. *Āśmāyāga, Aśvathya's Kāṇḍa*, II, 19-22.

बाह्यया जनमुत्पद्य पौरजानपदेः सह ।  
समेत्य मन्त्रयित्वा तु समस्तगत्युद्भवः ॥  
कथुष मनसा ज्ञात्वा वृद्धं दशरथं वृषम् ।

स रामं युवराजानमभिविष्ण्वन्व पापिष ॥  
इच्छामो हि महाबाहुं त्वुषीरं महाबलम् ।

2. *Ibid.*, 26-31.

ते तयुषुर्महात्मानं पौरजानपदेः सह ।  
बहवो वृष कथयाया गुह्याः पुत्रस्य सन्ति ते ।  
हत्पाकुन्प्योऽपि सर्वेभ्यो ह्यतिरिक्तो विशोपते ।  
बभूव भरतामजः ।

बदा मवति संपातं प्रामार्थं नगरस्य वा ।  
गत्वा सौमित्रिसंहितो नाचिजित्य निवर्तते ॥  
पौरान्स्वजनमन्त्रित्य कुशलं परिपृच्छति ।

उत्सरेषु च सर्वेषु पितृषु परितुष्यति ।  
प्रभापालनतस्त्वज्ञो न सागोपहतेर्हिद्वयः ।  
आशंसते जनः सर्वो राष्ट्रं पुत्रको तथा ।  
आभ्यन्तरस्य बाह्यस्य पौरजानपदो जनः ॥ (Kamś).

For Juss in the collective sense of a body, compare Asoka's जन धम्मयुतं (Pillar series VII).

The age of the present *Āśmāyāga* should be studied in Jacobi's critical paper on *Bauddhism* ( *Die Śāśmāyāga* ). It seems that the original edition was composed about 300 B. C. and the revision took place about 200 B. C. (*JRORS*, IV, 254).

The king is somewhat surprised and asks ; "As you desire  
 "the Rāghava prince to become protector, a doubt has arisen  
 "in my mind which please remove. O you  
 "rulers (Rājānāḥ, 'kings'), although I am  
 "ruling this country in accordance with law,  
 "yet how is it, you gentlemen want to see my son appointed as  
 "king-assistant, with high powers?" The spokesmen with  
 the members of the Paura-Jānapada give their  
 reasons. They say that Rāma was the best of the Ikshvākus  
 on merit ; that he was born before Bharata ; that he was  
 brave ; that he always enquired after the well-being of the  
 Pauras ; that he took a leading part in the festivities ; that  
 he knew the principles of government, etc. ; that the country  
 desired him as its lord ; and in fine, that not only the  
 people of the kingdom and the capital, but also the Paura-  
 Jānapada, both their Inner and Outer bodies, admire the  
 Prince. The king is satisfied with the proposal that they  
 desired to have his eldest son in the office of the Yuvarāja.  
 When the king promises that the desire would be carried out,  
 his reply is acclaimed.<sup>1</sup> And then he makes a speech by  
 which he gives directions to carry out the resolution. This  
 being done, "the Pauras who had advised

1. *Ibid.*, Canto III, verses 2-6.

ब्रह्मोऽस्मि परमर्षिणः प्रजापदावातुलो मम ।  
 वन्द्ये ज्येष्ठं प्रियं पुत्रं यौवराज्यस्थानिकम् ॥  
 ... ..  
 यौवराज्याय समस्त्य सर्वमेवोपकल्पयताम् ।  
 राजस्तुतस्तु वाक्ये जलघोषो महात्मभूत ॥  
 सर्वस्तस्मिन्प्रदाने च जलघोषे सराविम ॥  
 ... ..

"the king, departed being greatly satisfied."<sup>1</sup> Here it is evident that the expression 'Pauras' stands for both the Pauras and the Jānapadas.

§265. The Paura-Jānapada as one body again wait to take part in the Abhisheka (consecration) ceremony.<sup>2</sup> Although the whole body was taken to be present, only the Chiefs or 'Presidents' of the sections were in fact present in person.<sup>3</sup> We find only the Vriddhas of the whole of Pañchāla country taking part in the ceremony at Kānyakubja, as Dharma-Pāla's copper-plate records'. It is to the ladies of the Chiefs of the Śrenis that the king offers salutation after the coronation ceremony.<sup>4</sup>

In other royal ceremonies also, the Aldermen of the Paura, Paura-Vriddhas, take part.<sup>5</sup>

Likewise the Paura-Jānapadas could interfere with succession and prevent an undesirable prince from coming to the throne.<sup>6</sup>

1. *Ibid.*, verse 49.

ते चापि पौरा वृषतेर्वस्तुष्टुत्वा तदा साभिमिश्रमाशु ।  
नरेन्द्रमामन्त्रा गृहाणि गत्वा देवान्समानवृत्तिप्रवृत्ताः ॥

2. *Ibid.* IV, 1.

गतेष्वथ वृषो भूयः पौरेषु सह गन्तिभिरि ।  
मन्तु मित्वा ततश्चक्रे निरवयजः स निष्कवम् ॥

3. *Ibid.* Chapter XIV, verse 52.

उपतिष्ठति रामस्व सप्तवर्षमिषेवम् ।  
पौरजानपदश्चापि नैगमाञ्च कुलान्वसिः ॥

4. *Ibid.*, verse 96.

पौरजानपदार्थेष्टाः नैगमाञ्च मर्षाः सह ।

5. *ET*, IV., p. 348.

6. *V. M. H.*, 114.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 417. In *Paura-jāna* ततोर्विश्रान्त्यार्थं पौरेषु दूरभ्रमः ।

8. *M. H. S. F. S.*, Ch. 140, 22-23.

§ 266. The revolution enacted in the *Mṛicchhakatika* throws light on another aspect of the constitutional power of the Paura-Jānapada. The reigning king is deposed because of bad administration of law, of which the president of the commercial union had been a victim.<sup>1</sup> The brother of the deposed king who 'established confidence' among the Pauras<sup>2</sup> obtained sovereignty. The messenger comes to the *Janapada-Samavāya*, 'corporate association of the *Janapada*' with the news of the revolution,<sup>3</sup> who are shortly after addressed as the Pauras and called upon to punish *Samsthānaka*. According to the *Mahāvamsa* the Ceylonese chronicle, the Paura in India could depose and banish the king for illegal acts, and they, mindful of the good of all, could choose another in his place outside the dynasty, by deciding upon it in their meeting.<sup>4</sup> Here again the Pauras apparently stand for both the Pauras and Jānapadas. In the *Dāsakumāracharita*<sup>5</sup> the Pauras and the Jānapadas are said to be friendly to the brothers of the king, it is therefore feared by the speaker that they are bound to succeed the king if the latter dies.

1. See 'Trial of Characters', translated in C. W. N., vol. 1, p. 11.

साधुवादविनयवत्सले नमो मातरदत्तस्य तनयः । Act IX ( द्वाया )

2. पौराद समावास्थ ।

3. *Mṛicchhakatika*, Act X. See also पौराः वावादिषु । किं विमित्रं पादकी जीवावीर्यदि । which shows that the Pauras were present at the place where Clitellius and Vasistha were standing and where the *Janapada-samavāya* was.

4. Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, IV, 5-6.

5. Chapter III.

अनुज्ञाः पुनः अतिवदन्ते तैरपि वदन्ते पौरजातयः ।

§ 267. There is a sample of discussion in the assemblies of the Paura and the Jānapada given in the Artha-Śāstra. Spies of the king charged to gauge the political views of the Pauras and the Jānapadas about the king, would approach (1) the Tīrtha-Sabbhā-Śālā-Samayāya or the Sectional sub-assembly of the Paura in charge of the sacred places and public buildings; (2) the Pūga-Samayāya or the sub-assembly in charge of trades and manufactures; and (3) the Jana-Samayāya or the Popular Assembly, that is, what the Mṛichchhakatika calls the Jānapada-Samayāya. By approaching these assemblies, sectional or permanent councils, the spies ascertained the prevailing feeling of the Paura and the Jānapada. The spies would broach the subject, for example, in these words:

"We hear that the king is possessed of all the necessary merits. But we do not see those merits, for the man is troubling the Pauras and the Jānapadas (by demands for) army and taxes."<sup>1</sup>

In the discussion if the members defend and praise the king, they were reminded of the Hindu theory of the original contract between the King and the People, the very origin and basis of Kingship:

"Well, (is it not so ? that) the Subjects went to Manu son of Vivasvat, when anarchy prevailed and troubled them. They settled his share in taxes—one-sixth of the crops, [and] one-tenth of merchandise, in cash. That

<sup>1</sup> Artha-Śāstra, Bk. I, Ch. XIII, 9.

गृह्यस्यप्रतिष्ठिः कृतमहामात्र्यापसः पौरजनपदान्तपसेत् ।  
यत्प्रियो इन्द्रिन्स्तीर्षमभावात्प्राप्तस्तत्समवायेषु विवादं कुर्युः सर्वगुणसम्पत्त्यवायं राजा भूयते । न चास्य कश्चित् शुभो दम्भते यः पौरजनपदान् दयश्चकारान्तो धीरुपतीति ।  
For the interpretation of दयश्चकारान्तो compare दम्भ in Bk. XIII, Ch. V : 170 (p. 407).

"much is the wage of kings for ensuring prosperity".<sup>1</sup>

§ 268. The king according to the *Mahā-Bhārata* had to invest only that minister with the jurisdiction of *mantra* or state policy and government (danda), that is, the powers of the Premier (mantrin), who has legally earned the confidence of the Paura-Jānapada.<sup>2</sup> Resolutions on state policy having been discussed by the cabinet of ministers with the king, had to be submitted to the Rāshtra, that is, the Jānapada, for their opinion (lit., to show दृश्येत्), through the Rāshtriya or the President of the Rāshtra or Jānapada.<sup>3</sup> This was necessary especially because grant of extraordinary taxes, as we shall presently see, was in their hands.

§ 269. The tenure of ministers depended, to a considerable extent, on the good-will and confidence of the Paura-Jānapada. The minister Chakra-pālita who was the provincia<sup>1</sup> governor of Skanda Gupta in the Western presidency, records in the public inscription that he gained the confidence of the people and the Nāgaras

<sup>1</sup> तत्र येषुग्रामेभ्यः तानितरस्ते च प्रतिषेधयेत् । मात्स्वयन्यायानिमृताः प्रजा मनुष्यवृक्ते राजाने चक्रिरे । धान्यवज्रमार्गं वन्यद्वयमार्गं हिंसयन् चास्य भागमेव प्रकल्पयामाह । तेन श्रुता राजानः प्रजानां योगक्षेमवदाः तेषां किल्बिषमद्वयकला इरन्ति । *Ibid.*, [p. 23].

For the interpretation of *bhṛta* cf. its meaning in the *Mitāksharā* ( *Vijñānamāra* ).

<sup>2</sup> *Mahā-Bhārata* (Kumbh.), *Sānti-Parvata*, LXXXIII, 45-6.

तस्मै मन्त्रः प्रयोक्तव्यो दण्डमाधितस्तां वृत् ।  
पौरजानपदा वस्मिन्निग्वार्य धर्मतो गताः ॥

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, LXXXV, 11-12.

अज्ञानां मन्त्रिणां मध्ये मन्त्रं राजोपधारयेत् ।  
तदा संप्रैषयेद्वाप्यु राष्ट्रियोषां च दृश्येत् ॥

by his rule in a short time and that he 'coaxed and pleased the Paura-vargas' or the association of the Pauras.' Finally he prays, "May the Capital prosper and be loyal to the Paura!"

§ 270. In empires there were presidency capitals. There seems to have been an independent Paura body in such a capital. The Paura alone in such cases are mentioned. There was no separate Jānapada body there and it seems that the latter still sat at

Paura and  
Provincial  
Government

the imperial capital representing the whole country. The Pauras were prone to take offence at the Ministry's behaviour. The Pauras alone of Takshasilā, the capital of the North (Uttarāpatha) in the time of Aśoka, are related to have become 'hostile'. Prince Kunāla was sent by his father, King Aśoka, to pacify them. The Paura coming forward told the prince in their address of welcome: "We are not hostile to Your Highness (the viceroy) nor are we hostile to King Aśoka, but (we are so to) the 'rascally Ministers who have come and who are rude to us ('insult us')."

We find from Aśoka's inscriptions that the emperor

- 1 विघ्नममल्पेन कथाम् योऽस्मिन्कालेन लोकेषु स नागरेषु ।  
यो लालवामास च पौखर्गाद्...

—Jannagala Inscription of 457-8 A. C. Fleet, C. I. L. (G.I.), Vol. III, p. 69 The reading of Fleet separating स from कल्पे and काले is grammatically impossible.

- 2 Ibid., p. 61 नगरमपि च भूषाद् दिग्दर्शकम् ।

- 3 Deepikāvalīna, p. 407-8.

राजोऽयोऽस्योत्तरापथे तक्षशिलासगरं विद्वद्म् । अत्वा च राजा स्वयमेवाभिपश्यतः । ततोऽध्याचरेभिहितः । देव कुमारः प्रेष्यतां स संनानमिष्यति । अथ राजा कुनालमाहूय कथयति । कस कुनाल ममिष्यति तक्षशिलासगरं संनानमिष्यत् । कुनाल उवाच । परं देव ममिष्यामि ... .. धनुर्वेगे तक्षशिलासमुप्रातः । अत्वा च तक्षशिलापौरा धर्षयिष्यामि योजयामि नगरयोर्भा नगरयोर्भा च कृत्वा पूर्वकुम्भेः प्रत्युद्धताः कथयति च—

made an order that the Ministers at Tak-shaśilā were to go out of office every three years, and new ministers to be sent instead.<sup>1</sup> From other provincial capitals the ministers were changed every five years; but an exception was made in the case of the Government at Tak-shaśilā and that

*Agitation of the  
Paura of Takshila*

at Ujjayini. The same records which mention this, namely, the Kalinga Inscriptions called 'Special Edicts' by epigraphists, say that the King insisted on the rule of transfers so that the "city-body" ( *n a g a r a - j a n a* = Paura ) might not be suddenly excited and suddenly put to trouble ( *N a g a n a - j a n a s a a k a s m ā p a l i h o d h e v a a k a s m ā p a l i k i l e s e v a n o s i y ā t i* ). This evidently refers to a sudden excitement of the Pauras as in the case of the Tak-shaśilā agitation described in the *D i v y ā v a d ā n a*.

Unfortunately we are not in possession of the details of these constitutional 'insults' which entitled the Pauras to become hostile and justify their disloyalty. In any case, the Pauras were such keen politicians that they would distinguish disloyalty to the Ministers from loyalty to the Crown.

भूत्वा राज्यालोपोरा राजपुत्रादिकान् ।

युष्म प्रत्युत्तमानान् बहुमान्या दुपान्मान् ॥

प्रत्युद्गमे कृतान्तविक्रमम् । न तथं कुमारस्य निन्दा न राजोभ्योक्त्यापि तु  
दुष्टात्मानोभ्यान् आगत्यास्माकमपमानं कुर्वन्ति । शक्यकुललो नदत्ता यन्मानेन तत्कर्मणा  
प्रशंसितः ।

1. नालकनम आकस्मा पलिबोने न आकस्मा पलिबिलेने न नो मिथा ति पुताये न अराये  
हकं यमने पंकु पंकु बलेन निन्तामयितामि न आकस्मते अथं...मन्तिनालमे होमति पुतं अह  
यानि तु तथा कलति अथ मम अधुमयो ति उनेमिो पि तु कुमारने पुतायेन अराये निन्तामयित...  
हदिस मेव वमं भो न अतिक्रामयिमति तिनि यमार्नि हनेव तत्कर्मणाति पि अहा अ...ने महा-  
मता निवमिमति... *Monist. vol. 1, p. 100.*

<sup>1</sup> I have discussed the significance of the inscription in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. V, (1912) p. 20.

§ 270A. The Paura-Jānapada are repeatedly mentioned in connexion with taxation. Taxes were fixed by common law. But the king often had the necessity and TAXATION occasion to apply for an extra-ordinary taxation. Such taxes assumed the form of 'prāṇaya', 'out-of-affection gifts', or a forced benevolence-tax, and the like.<sup>1</sup> It is evident that proposals for such taxation were first submitted to the Paura-Jānapada. According to the Artha-Śāstra the king had "to beg of the Paura-Jānapada" these taxes.<sup>2</sup> We have already noticed the discussion of grievance in the Paura sub-assemblies and the Jānapada sub-assembly about the oppression from the king's taxes. A ruler of a subjugated country, according to Kautilya, ran the risk of causing wrath of the Paura-Jānapada, and his consequent fall, by raising money and army to be supplied to his suzerain.<sup>3</sup>

Disaffection might follow a Regent's threat to realize a war-tax. Kautilya's agents, says the Artha-Śāstra, taking service under the Regent, while the enemy king was out with his army in the field, would secretly tell the Paura-Jānapadas, as friends, that the Regent had ordered the government to demand taxes the moment the king returned. And when the Pauras held a general meeting to give their votes on the subject the leaders were to be done away with at night secretly, and the rumour circulated by the agents "this is done because they were

1 *Jayaswal, Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 50.

2 *Artha-Śāstra*, Bk. V. ch. 2; 90.

3 *Ibid.* Bk. XIII, ch. 5; 175.

एतेन प्रदेशेन राजा पौरजानपदान् विजित् ।

कोशद्वयद्वयानमवस्थाप्य यदुपकुञ्च्यार्थः पौरजानपदान्कोपयेत् ।

कृषिस्त्रीरनं ज्ञातयेत् प्रकृतिमिश्रम् एमपनयेत् ।

opposing the Regent's proposal,"<sup>1</sup> This was expected to cause dissension and weakness in the enemy country.

Rudradāman, as he says in his inscription, proposed to his ministers the restoration of the great water works of the Mauryas, the Sudarśana lake, which proposal was rejected by his Council of Ministers. Thereupon Rudradāman did the repairs from 'his own private purse'. In doing so, he says that he did not trouble the "Paura-Jānapada jana or body" with a demand for benevolences for the purpose.<sup>2</sup> Just before, he has already said that he realized taxes only so much as was rightfully allowed (by Hindu Law)<sup>3</sup>.

The Sudarśana lake was a huge irrigation work. The capital being situated on a hill, the people who were most benefited by it were the Janapada people. It would be probably inexplicable why the king should have troubled the Pauras unless we accepted that the Paura-Jānapada together had to sanction the demand.

§ 271. A sample of an address from the

<sup>1</sup> *RII*, III, Ch. 2 : 163.

दुर्गेषु चास्य शून्यपालासन्नास्सत्रिणः पौरजानपदेषु मेघीनिमित्तमावेदयेयुः। शून्यपालेनोक्ता योधाश्च शचिकनशस्त्राश्च कृच्छ्रगतो राजा जीवन्नाममिष्यति, न वा प्रसक्तं वित्तमार्त्रयश्चममियाश्च इव इति। बहुलोभुते तीज्ज्जाः पौराजियास्पाहास्तेषुः मुक्काधमिहन्तुः एवं कियन्ते ये शून्यपालस्व न युध्नुवन्ते इति। शून्यपालरूपानेषु च समोचितानि कस्यचित्कन्यनान्बुत्तयेयुः। ततस्सत्रिणः शून्यपालो वसतपति किंवाप्यति च इत्यवेदयेयुः।

In the above text बहुलोभुते should be compared with संवहुले in *Jānaka*, II, 42, and संवहुलेहि in the *Majjhima Nikāya*—*Upaka Maggalāna Sutta* where संवहुले denotes holding a meeting to decide a matter by the vote of majority.

<sup>2</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol VIII, p. 46.

अर्थाद्वित्वा करविद्विप्रकयक्षिपानिः पौरजानपदं जवं द्वास्तत्कोया (२) महता धनौघेन अनतिमहता च कालेन .....सेतु.....कारिताम्।.....अस्मिन्नेव महात्तत्रपस्य मतिमवि-  
कर्मयचिन्मात्यपुत्रसमुप कैरत्यतिमहत्तत्रपे दम्भानुत्पादविद्वत्तमतिभिः प्रयान्वातारंभ ...

<sup>3</sup> यथाकृपासं र्बमिदुत्कमानैः—I, 11.

throne begging extra taxes from the Paura-Jānapada is given in the Mahā-Bhārata. I quoted the speech in 1912 but its constitutional character could not be realized before Khāravela's inscription disclosed the corporate Paura and Jānapada. The passage just before that speech is most important, for it shows the methods to which the Crown resorted, to obtain the grants from the Paura-Jānapada. The method of securing a majority in the assembly of the Jānapada is given, and royal dishonesty in defeating the Jānapada is divulged. The very method, at the same time, proves the legal power and authority of the Paura-Jānapada. <sup>1</sup>

"To provide for a future distress, kings" [ according to our Mahā-Bhārata authority ] "raise and keep by funds. All the Paura-Jānapadas ( i. e., all the members ) those in session ( *samśrita* ), as well as those taking ease ( *upaśrita* ), i. e., every one of them should be shown (royal) sympathy, even those who are not rich. Dissension should be created in the Outer ( *Bāhya* ) body of theirs and then the Middle body to be well (or comfortably) won over (bribed, 'entertained' ). The king thus acting, the People will not be excited and disaffected whether they feel ( the burden ) easy or heavy. Then, before money demand is made, the king going to them and addressing by a speech should point out to the

1 *Santi-Parvan* Ch. LXXXVII. 23—25 ( Kumbakonam ).

आपदं च निवयान्मानो हि विविच्यते ।

राष्ट्रं च कोकभूतं हनत्कोरो वेमगतस्तथा ॥

पौरजानपदान्तर्वांसंश्रितोपश्रितास्तथा ।

यथाशक्तमुद्यमेन सर्वान्स्वहृदयनापि ॥

वाङ्मं जलं भेदयित्वा भोक्तव्यो मध्यमः सुखम् ।

एवं नास्व प्रकुप्यन्ति जनाः कुक्षितदुःखिताः ॥

"Rāshtra (Jānapada) the danger to his country (*e. g.*) as follows :<sup>1</sup>

"Here a danger has arisen. A large enemy army !  
"They forebode our end just as the prospect of coming on fruit  
"to the bamboo". My enemies with the help of *dasyas*  
"(foreign barbarians)"<sup>2</sup> want to harm the kingdom,—an  
"attempt which, of course, will prove to be their self-destruc-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 20—24.

प्रागेव तु जनादानमनुभाष्य ततः पुनः ।  
सन्निपात्य स्वविषये भवं राष्ट्रं प्रदर्शयेत् ॥ २६  
इयमापत्स्सुतपक्षा परवक्तव्यं महत् ।  
अपि चान्ताय कल्पन्ते वेद्योस्त्वि फलागमाः ॥ २७  
धारयो मे समुत्थाय बहुभिर्दस्युभिः सह ।  
इदमात्स्यधारेण राष्ट्रमिच्छन्ति बाधितुम् ॥ २८  
अस्यामापदि घोरायां संप्राप्ते दास्ये भये ।  
परित्राणाय भवतः प्रार्थयिष्ये धनानि वः ॥ २९  
प्रतिदास्ये च भवतां सर्वं चाहं भवन्तये ।  
नास्यः प्रतिदास्यन्ति स्वर्गमुर्ध्वलदितः ॥ ३०  
कलत्रमादितः कृत्वा सर्वं वो विमोदितः ।  
शरीरमुद्यदारार्थमर्थसम्पन्नं द्रव्यते ॥ ३१  
नन्दामि वः प्रभवेण पुत्राणामिव शोदये ।  
यथाशक्तमुपगृह्णामि राष्ट्रस्वाधीनतां वः ॥ ३२  
आपत्स्त्वेव निबोद्धव्यं भवतिः सगतीरिह ।  
न वः प्रियतरं कार्यं धनं कस्याचिदापदि ॥ ३३  
इति पाचा मधुरया रसतन्त्रया सोपचारया ।  
स्वदग्नीमन्त्रयस्तुतेषोगमाधाय कालवितु ॥ ३४

<sup>2</sup> The prospect is revealed by the owner of the bamboo stump in our village as it means the drying up of the whole stock. The bamboo 'fruit' is in appearance like paddy.

<sup>3</sup> *Dasya* is a technical term both in *Māns* ( २. 45 ) and the ( *Mahā-Bhārata*, *Sāmā P* LXV, 13-17 ) denoting foreign tribes.

"tion. In this serious difficulty and in the nearness of this "grim danger, I beg of you money, gentlemen, for your safety. "When the crisis is over I will repay, gentlemen, in full. The "enemies will not return what they, if they can, carry away by "force from here. From family down to every thing you possess "might be destroyed by them. Money is desired only for the "sake of person, children and wife. I delight in your "prosperity as in the prosperity of my sons. I shall receive "what you can spare, without causing pain to the realm and to "you. In crises, the honourable assembly ( भवद्भिः संगतैः ) "should bear the burden. You should not value money very "much in a crisis "

"With such sweet, bland speeches making salutations "and showing courtesy ( सोपचिह्नारो ), kings presented their "money demands" ( dhanādāna ).

Every Paura and every Jānapada ( that is, every member ) was to be humoured by personal attention of the king before the time for the speech and demand arrived. <sup>1</sup> We are already familiar with the Outer body of the Paura-Jānapadas. In the Rāmāyana, as we have seen, the same term occurs. But what is meant by the Middle body ? They here stand for 'the Inner body'. They were to be "used" and "given wages" for their dishonourable conduct. They were won over to favour the king's proposal.

It should be noted that the language addressed to the Paura-Jānapada is very polite ; the pronoun is, bhavati, 'your honourable self', bhavadbhiḥ saṅgataiḥ 'your honourable Assembly.' <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. vii.

<sup>2</sup> That voting prevailed in the Jānapada and Paura can be gathered from the procedure of contemporary popular institutions which we have already noticed. It is implied here in our text by the directions about creating friends in the Outer body and about winning over the Middle body.

§272. The Paura-Jānapada demanded and obtained *anugrahas* or 'privileges'. Khāravela in his inscription says that he granted numerous *anugrahas* in a particular year to the Paura and to the Jānapada. According to Kautilya the Paura-Jānapada (leaders) of an enemy country should be advised by secret agents 'to demand *anugrahas* from the king' when there be famine, thefts, and raids by the *Atavis* ( buffers of wild tribes ). This is to be read along with Yājñavalkya II, 36<sup>1</sup> which enjoins that the king must pay "to the Jānapada" (in the singular) compensation for loss caused by thieves ( see also § 281 ). The Paura-Jānapada should couple their demand, according to Kautilya, with the threat of migration to the enemy's country in case the demand was not allowed.<sup>2</sup>

§273. That the demands for *anugrahas* were mostly of economic character, is shown by the direction of Kautilya ;<sup>3</sup> that only those *anugrahas* and *parihāras* ( fiscal concessions ) should be granted which would lead to the strength of the Exchequer and those which weaken it were to be avoided for 'with a small treasury the king oppresses the Paura-Jānapadas.'

1 Yājñavalkya, II, 36.

देयं यौरक्षतं द्रव्यं राजा जामपदाय तु ।

अदृष्टिं समाप्नोति किञ्चिद्य यत्नं तस्य तत् ॥

This verse of Yājñavalkya corresponds to Manu VIII, 40. See Mathabek's explanation.

Q. प्रत्याहर्तुं मयास्तु यत्नं यौरक्षतं यदि ।

स्वकोशाद्वि देवं स्वायत्तमेव महोक्तम् ॥

—Dandakya in the Mith-shark.

2 Artha Śāstra, III, XIII, Ch. 1 : 171 ( p. 294 ).

दुर्भिक्षलोभाद्व्युपपत्तेषु च यौरजानपदास्तुःसाहयन्तः यत्रिणो वृत्तुः राजानमनुषरं वाचामहे निरनुषरः परत्र गच्छाम इति ।

3 Artha Śāstra, III, II, Chapter I : 49 ( p. 47 ).

पुनश्चद्विहारौ चेभ्यः कोमवृद्धिकौ दत्ताः । कोमोपपत्तिकौ वनेभ्यः । अल्पकोमो हि राजा यौरजानपदानेन वसते ।

He recommends *parihāra* in famines, and counts the erection of irrigation works as a case where an *anugraha* ought to be granted. <sup>1</sup> Aśoka in his Pillar Proclamations says that the Rājukas or ruling ministers, made independent by him, were to make *anugrahas* to the Jānapada body (§318). Rudradāman calls his restoration of the irrigation lake,—Sudarśana—an *anugraha* in favour of the Paura-Jānapadas. <sup>2</sup>

§274. The Buddhist books similarly testify to the constitutional practice of the king's approaching the Jānapada and the Naigama or Paura for a 'fresh tax' when he intended to undertake a big sacrifice. The royal speech on that occasion is characteristically polite. The form of demand was this :

"I intend to offer a great sacrifice. Let the gentlemen ('Venerable Ones,' Rhys Davids) give their sanction "to what will be to me for weal and welfare."<sup>3</sup>

If the Paura-Jānapada bodies gave their *anumati* ('sanction') the king was to perform the sacrifice and the country had to pay a tax for that.

1 *Ibid.*—

निर्विघ्नमकार्षं यथागतं वा परिहारं दद्यात् । निवृत्तपरिहारान् पितृवानुगृहीषात् । आकर कर्मान्तद्वयवहितस्तद्वृत्तस्थि कृत्यप्रचारान्धारिस्थलपथप्रयत्नानि च निर्वहयेत् । महोदक-साहाय्योदकं वा लेतुं वन्दयेत् । अन्तेषां वा वसतो भूमिसामं वृद्धोत्तरकस्यानुग्रहं कुर्यात् ।

2 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 47.

मुनस्तेतुवन्तैरामवाद् दाहाभूतात् प्रजासु द्वाविष्टानि पौरजानपदजनानुग्रहार्थं पापि-  
द्वेन etc.

3 Rhys Davids, *Udāha Nīkāya*.—*Kāṇḍakāya Sutta* § 11. *Dialogues of the Buddha* Vol. II, p. 175.

4 *Udāha Nīkāya*.—*Kāṇḍakāya Sutta* § 12.

इच्छामहं भो महावज्जं वज्रितुं अनुमानन्तु मे सोन्तो वं मम अस्स दीवरत्तं हिताय वज्जपाति ।

§ 275. Thus the Paura-Jānapada were approached and begged by the king to grant extraordinary taxes; and the Paura-Jānapada demanded and obtained anugrahas or economic privileges from the king. It is not certain but it is very likely that in raising his large armies the king utilised the machinery of the Paura-Jānapada. Two references in the *Artha-Śāstra*, noticed above, where taxes are coupled with the danda (army) or raising of army, suggest this possibility.

§ 276. That the Paura-Jānapada had not business of merely occasional or adventitious nature, is proved by the fact that the *Arthaśāstra* marks out one period in the king's daily timetable to be devoted to the business of the Paura-Jānapadas.<sup>1</sup>

Daily, therefore, matters went up from them to the king. These must have been of an economic and financial nature, and if they had to raise levies for the imperial army, as it seems very probable, the business must have included military matters as well. The daily business before the king suggests a busy time for at least the Inner body or the permanent *Samāvāya* of the Paura-Jānapada.

1 *Arthaśāstra*—DE. VIII, Ch. 19; 16 (p. 57).

द्वितीये पौरजानपदानां कार्याणि पर्येतः ।

31. *Mahā Bhārata Śānti Parva*. Ch. 40, 19.

पौरजानपदानां च यानि कार्याणि नित्यतः ।

राजानं समनुज्ञाप्य तानि कार्याणि पर्येतः ॥

§ 277. The above matters were not the only concern of the Paura-Jānapadas. We find Aśoka, after his pilgrimage to Bodhi Gaya, discussing his new Dharma with the Jānapada body.<sup>1</sup> Aśoka proposed to impose a new system on the community and to do away with the old orthodox one. He had to feel his way in proceeding with his intended revolution. He sought countenance from the Paura-Jānapada and proclaimed to the public that he had been having the honour of meeting the Jānapada (*dandana*) and discussing the Dharma with them. They were thus a machinery not only for the restricted purposes of taxation and economic advancement but for all vital interests of the country.

§ 278. We find the Paura receiving communication from the sovereign to execute measures of moment which properly belonged to the jurisdiction of the executive government or Dandya. Tishyarakshita, queen of Aśoka, sent the letter which she forged under the name of the Emperor and sealed it with his ivory seal, to the Paura of Takshasila. The story as related in the Divyāvadāna may or may not be correct. But the story would not have been detailed in this way if the procedure of sending a royal communication of the nature the missive is said to have embodied, had been unknown at the time the Divyāvadāna was compiled.

Importance of  
the Paura:  
Paura and  
Executive work

<sup>1</sup> Rock Series VIII (Girnar).

बाल्यममजानं दसो च दाने च परानं दसो च हिरण्यदिनिधानो च ज्ञानवद्भ्यं च जनप  
दस्यं धनानुदन्तो च धनपरिपुञ्जा च...

See below for the mention of the Jānapada in Pillar Series IV (Humbly Maurya).

The Paura were asked to inflict punishment on the viceregal prince who had been denounced in the letter as a traitor to the dynasty. The Pauras in the *Mṛicchhakatika* are asked by the people to execute the real culprit *Saṃsithānaka* who had been treated as innocent by the law-court. The 'Pauras' here probably stands for Paura-Jānapada as they are mentioned after the *Jānapada-samavāya*.

§ 279. The prince-vice-roy was supposed to go to their assembly. The passage in the *Mahā-Bhārata* implies that the king himself attended the Paura-Jānapada assembly. *Asoka* received them with great respect.

§ 280. The political philosopher *Vāmadeva* quoted in the *Mahā-Bhārata* sums up the importance of the Paura and Jānapada by saying that the Paura-Jānapada could make or mar the government. If they were satisfied "the business of the realm would be done by them; if they were not satisfied they would make government impossible, for they became opposers. The king had therefore to keep them attached by his conduct and by not causing annoyance to them".<sup>1</sup>

- 1 राजा क्षयोको बलवान् प्रवृत्तः आजापयत् तत्प्रसिद्धाजने हि ।  
उद्धार्यतां लोकमनस्य भवामोर्ध्वस्य भवस्य फलदुःखः ॥

—*Harigayana*, p. 110.

The use of the word *Jana* should be noticed here and should be compared with *जापद जन* in *Asoka's* inscription and *पौरजानपदो जनः* in the *Mahābhārata*. The sense is of a collective body.

- 2 पर्यामि कुनाहं...पौरं प्रविष्टः । *Harigayana*, p. 110.

- 3 *Mahā-Bhārata* (Kumārakumār). *Sānta-Purāṇa*, XCIV, 16.

पौरजानपदा यस्य सन्तुलका क्षयिताः ।

राष्ट्रभ्रमंकरा क्षमे राष्ट्रस्य च विरोधिनः ॥

[The context and grammar show that verse 16 which ought to precede immediately verse 15 has been detached and put in its present position. Verse 17 really reads with verse 15.]

As the Paura administered relief to the poor and helpless in the capital,<sup>1</sup> the Jānapada did the same in their jurisdiction. It appears from the view of Vāmadeva that when the Jānapada and the Paura withdrew from the duty of poor relief the government of the king was in trouble. They could make the government impossible in so many ways; this may be inferred from their various functions which we have noticed. To them, the trouble caused by the non-performance of poor relief is evidently to be added as a factor of importance. If the Paura-Jānapadas, says Vāmadeva, remain kind to beings, having money and grain (for the purpose), the throne will remain firmly rooted.<sup>2</sup>

§ 281. Another method by which the Paura-Jānapada made the government of a misbehaving king difficult was that the offended Paura and Jānapada would  
 Compensation bills  
 of Jānapada  
 to the Crown  
 make out a bill and present it to the king to make good all the losses sustained in the kingdom by thefts, dacoities, and the like lawlessness. This strange<sup>3</sup> procedure is sanctioned even by the Codes of Hindu law. We can understand it only if we bear in mind the Hindu theory of taxation. Taxes were paid to the king as his wages, and the wages were wages for protection (see § 338 below). The corollary was that if protection which meant both internal and external, was not

1. तयानाथद्वित्रायां संस्कारो वजनक्रिया । etc. See II. p. 72, o.

2. पौरजानपदा यस्य सुतेषु च दयालवः ।

सधना धान्यवन्तश्च ह्यमूलः स पार्थिवः ॥

—*Mahā-Bhārata* (Kumbakonam) *Śānti-Parvan*, XGIV, 18.

On the question of the wealth in the hands of the Paura and Jānapada bodies it should be noticed that corporate bodies not only held money and property but could even legally borrow money as is evidenced by the laws of Brīhaspati and Kātyāyana (*Vṛnāśhodhaya*, p. 432).

3. Mr. Govinda Rao writes, "Even up to very recent times, I understand that in the Rajput states thefts had to be made good by the king's treasury."

rendered fully, deductions from the wages of the employee would be made by the employer. The refund bills were presented, according to Yājñavalkya, by the Jānapada, as it is to them, he enjoins on the king, to pay the crown compensation.<sup>1</sup> The passage in the *Artha-Śāstra* which says that the spies were to prompt the Pauras and Jānapadas to ask for concessions if the frontier barbarians committed raids, also indicates the practice of demanding compensations.

Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana lays down "when the king has "failed to recover the property taken away by thieves it should "be made good from his own purse (*Svakoṣāt*) by the impotent "holder-of-the-country." *Svakoṣa* in the inscription of Rudradāman was the private purse as opposed to the public treasury. This being the sense of Dvaipāyana, the compensation realized (according to the corresponding law of Yājñavalkya) by the Jānapada amounted to a personal fine on the king.<sup>4</sup>

§ 282. From the evidence of the *Mahā-Bhārata*, we gather that the members of the Jānapada as well as of the Paura, were generally rich people. And those who were not rich, were not poor either.

Constituency of  
the Jānapada

The reference in the *Daśakumāra-charita*<sup>3</sup> which represents the king making an illegal request to the president

1. देवं चौरहतं दण्डं राजा जानपदाय तु ।  
अथदि समाप्नोति क्षितिष्वयस्य तस्य तत् ॥

—Yājñavalkya II. 36. Compare other passages quoted below.

2. A. XIII. Ch. 2: 171 (p. 394).

3. प्रत्याहणं मयकस्तु यत्नं चौरहतं यदि ।  
स्वकोणादि देवं स्वादगमेन सहोन्मुता ॥

Quoted by the *Mādhava* on Y. II. 36.

4. Manu VIII. 43. दातव्यं सर्वज्ञेभ्यो राजा चौरहतं यन्म । According to Sandhu it means that the king should make good to all the carpas the loss sustained from the etc. The great commentator Medhātithi as well gives the same meaning.

3. *Daśakumāracharita*, Ch. par. III.

of the Jānapada for the oppression of a particular Grāmaṇi or the head of the village assembly, associates a Jānapada member with the village unit. The Jānapada, according to the Artha-Śāstra, was composed of villages and towns.<sup>1</sup> It is permissible to assume that the Jānapada had similarly its constituents in village corporations and townships of the country.

The Grāmaṇi was generally a rich man, a Vaiśya according to a Vedic reference,<sup>2</sup> and a Kshatriya according to the Pāli Canon.<sup>3</sup> The members returned to the Jānapada were very likely men from the Grāmaṇi class.

The Pāli Sūtra (Kāḍānuta of the Dīgha Nikāya)<sup>4</sup> which is regarded as almost contemporary in age with the Buddha's time, probably furnishes details of the composition of the Naigama or Paura and the Jānapada. The king invites the Kshatriyas who were 'Negama' or 'Jānapada' for the time-being (*anuyuttā negamā cheva jānapadācha*) in the king's country (*Raṇṇo janapade*), likewise those Negamas and Jānapadas who were officers and councillors (of the Paura and Jānapada), and, Negama and Jānapada Brahmins who possessed 'larger class of houses', and finally, *gahapati* Negamas and Jānapadas who were of the class of *nechayika*s. The *gahapati* class was composed of ordinary citizens—Vaiśyas and Śūdras, freemen cultivating their land or

1 Artha-Śāstra, Bk. II, Chapter I, 19.

2 *Maṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*, I, 3, 5; IV, 3, 8.

3 See above I, p. 89, n.

4 *Dīgha Nikāya—Kāḍānuta Sūtra*, 12 et seq.

दे भोतो एवम्भो जनपदे सत्तिपा अदुयुत्ता नेगमा चैव जानपदा च.....दे भोतो (etc.)  
 समन्था पारिमन्था नेगमा चैव जानपदा च.....दे भोतो (etc.) गहपतिमहासाला नेगमा च  
 जानपदा च.....दे भोतो (etc.) गहपतिनेचयिका नेगमा चैव जानपदा च.....

following their trade, 'the lords of their households.' *Nechayika* probably denoted the richer class of the *Grihapati* members as opposed to the *Mahā-Bhārata's* *sva-lpadhanas*, the 'small-wealth' members, of the *Paura* and *Jānapada*. This shows that the *Paura* and the *Jānapada* had almost all the classes of the population. The poor but highly intellectual class of *Brahmins* probably was not there as the qualification required was based on property of some value. The class of *Brahmins* whom I have described elsewhere as the aristocracy-in-poverty, i.e., those who lived up to the ideal laid down in the *Upanishads* and the *Dharma Sūtras*, would not be included in bodies where property qualification was the law. If we keep this point in view we can understand why *Brahmins* as a class are mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* separately, as joining the conference of the *Paura-Jānapada* to discuss the question of the nomination of *Yuvarāja* by them.<sup>1</sup> The character of the *Jānapada*, as representing the whole country, is quite clear. They are called the *Rā'shtra* or the kingdom itself and the *Deśa* or the Country itself. The *Pauras* were a fairly large body and presumably the *Jānapadas* were larger in number.

§ 283. We have a clear picture of the *Paura* composition. The description left by *Megasthenes*,<sup>2</sup> of the city-

1 माझ्या जन्मुल्पाय पौरजानपदः सह ॥  
समेत्य ते मन्त्रवितुं समस्तांस्तुष्टयः ।

—*Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ayodhya Kāṇḍa*, Chapter II. 19-20 (Kamb).

2 See § 258.

magistrates or the Executive bodies of the Paura of Pataliputra read in the light of the working system of corporate assemblies of the country, shows that the Paura was divided into several sub-assemblies representing different interests of the Capital. The Paura was a sort of mother association of different bodies. Patañjali, who uses the word Samgha in the general sense of a corporate assembly, not limited, as by Pāṇini and also probably by Kātyāyana, to the political Samgha, mentions as we have seen, Samghas of 5, of 10, and of 20 men.<sup>1</sup> It may be remembered that Kautilya also employs the word Samgha in the general sense<sup>2</sup> like Patañjali, although the technical sense of Pāṇini is not unknown to either. The significance becomes clear when we refer to the Mahāvagga (IX. 4. 1.) which lays down that a Samgha may have a quorum of 5, 10, 20 or upwards. The Pañchika Samgha, therefore, of Patañjali, is the quorum of 5. The boards of 5 members each of Megasthenes were these Pañchika Samghas. If the boards of 5 each were the Samghas of 5, then they would represent independent bodies, and their joint meeting would be a meeting of the mother association. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Paura is regarded to have more than one Mukhya or Śreṣṭha, chief or president;<sup>3</sup> and

1. See footnotes under § 257.

2. *Artha-Sāstra*, Bk. III Ch. 14 : 68 (p. 185) : तेन सङ्गृह्यता व्यवस्थाताः । Bk. II. Ch. I : 49 (p. 48) : सञ्जतादन्वः सङ्गः Bk. III, Ch. III : 62, (p. 173) देशजातिकुल-सङ्घानाम् ।

3. *Śāstrāgama*, *Śāstrāgama*, Ch. XV. V. 2 मुख्या ये निगमस्य च ; Ch. XIV, V. 40, पौरजातपदमेकः ।

Megasthenes mentions more than one "City Magistrate." In the *Mudrārākṣasa*<sup>1</sup> when Chandanadāsa is called by the Chancellor Chāṇakya (Kautilya), he is shown great respect and asked whether the people were loyal to the new king. Chandanadāsa thereupon speaks for the whole country; but he is only the president of the Jewellers' Association (*Maṇikāra-śreṣṭhī*). In the *Daśakumāracharita*, out of the two *Paura-Mukhyas* one is the president of merchants dealing with foreign trade only.<sup>2</sup> In the *Artha-Śāstra* where spies are sent to the *Paura-Jānapadas* to sound their political mind, they go to the "associations" or *samavāyas* (in the plural) of the *Tirthas*, of the *Saṅgha-Śālas*, of the *Pūga* and of the *People*.<sup>3</sup> These *Samavāyas* except the last one are evidently identical with the Boards of Megasthenes (as pointed out above) which looked after public buildings and temples, after manufactured articles, after trade and commerce. We have noticed the datum of Gautama which proves that there were *Śūdra* members also.<sup>4</sup> They were probably returned by the *Jāti-Saṅghas* or the caste assemblies or they might be representing some guild of artisans. The *Pūga* committee must have been mainly composed of the representatives of trade and commerce, apparently middle-class substantial men. The *Paura* was thus composed on the basis of different interests in the capital.

1 See § 304.

2 Act I. For the date of the *Mudrārākṣasa* (circa 420 A.D.) see Jayaswal, *Indian Autography*, 1913, p. 265; 1917, p. 275.

3 *Dakṣa-smṛiti*, Chapter III.

4 *Artha-Śāstra*, Bk. I, Ch. 12, § 16-23.

5 See II., p. 72 a.

§ 283. The Rāmāyaṇa gives some details of separate bodies which made up the Naigama, probably about 500 B. C. As the Paura-Jānapada (with the Naigama) appear, taking leading part in the nomination of Rāma as Yuvarāja, so the Paura, Naigama, or Jānapada or probably all of them figure on subsequent occasions when the question of succession to the throne presents itself. In VI (Yuddha) 127. 4, when Rāma is returning to Ayodhyā, the śreṇimukhyas and the 'Gaṇas' or 'Members of the Parliament' (probably the Jānapada) go out to receive him. In verse 16 they are around Bharata along with the Ministers and are mentioned as the Śreṇimukhyas and the Naigamas. The Naigamas consecrate Rāma as representatives of Vaiśya and Śūdra elements of the population (C. 128. 62). When Bharata is called from his maternal home on the death of Daśaratha, the Śreṇis sanction Bharata's proposed succession which is intimated to him (Ayodhyā, C. 79. 4). The "Rāma-Commentary" here explains "Śreṇayaḥ" as "Paurāḥ" and Govinda-rāja as "naigamāḥ." Probably 'Śreṇayaḥ' (Śreṇis) has been used in the primary sense, like the gaṇas of VI. 127, denoting 'the assemblies', i.e., both the Paura and Jānapada. Again when Bharata goes to bring back Rāma from exile or hermitage, the "favourites of the gaṇa" go with him along with the same associates, the ministers etc. (81. 12). These favourites or elected rulers of the gaṇas (83. 10) are referred to, a little further, in connexion with the people of the City,<sup>1</sup> as the Naigamas and 'those who think together' (saṃmatāyo) in the company of 'all the ministers.' Immediately following (verse 12 *et. seq.*) are detailed the different bodies or classes of trades and

<sup>1</sup> Nāpatikas, evidently Pauras.

arts who evidently made up the *Naigama*, e.g., jewellers, ivory-workers, stucco-workers, goldsmiths, wood-carvers, spice merchants and so forth.' They are rounded up with (verse 15) 'Presidents of townships and villages' (*grāma-ghoṣha-mahattarāḥ*), which the 'Rāma commentary'<sup>1</sup> explains as "the Presidents for the time being." As the *naigama* is detailed by its various trades and arts, the *Jānapada* ('those who think together') is detailed by its component elements—the village and township Presidents. Both these main bodies issue forth from the Capital. The representative assembly of the villages and townships of the realm, as observed above, had their head-quarters at the Capital. But the *Naigama* which was similarly at the Capital was the general representative body of different trade-guilds and guilds-merchant of the Capital only, as the commentators imply and the equivalent *Paura* proves.

§ 234. This conclusion derived from literature is confirmed by certain seals lately discovered at *Basārh* the ruined site of *Vaiśālī*. These seals remain learned puzzles in the pages of the reports of the excavation, without the data from literature we have noticed. They become intelligible in the light of the evidence adduced above. One seal bears the legend *Śreṣṭhī Nigamasya* while another reads *Śreṣṭhī—Sārthavāha—Kulika—nigama*; again another, *Kulika-Hariḥ* or *Prathama-Kulika-Hariḥ*.<sup>2</sup> The seals ending with *nigama* are the seals of the mother association of *Nigama* or *Paura*. *Kulika* was a judge of the *Paura* as we have already seen<sup>3</sup>; *Prathama-Kulika* would be thus the first judge of the *Paura* Court. '*Śreṣṭhin*,' 'president,' was evidently

<sup>1</sup> Consult *Govindarāja* on the technical names of trades.

<sup>2</sup> कर्त्तृ श्री गवर्धना महारथः । *Govindarāja* explains *mahattarāḥ* as *pradhāna-kāntāḥ*, 'made presidents.'

<sup>3</sup> *A. S. R.*, 1913-14, pp. 139, 140 and 153, seals Nos. 282 B, 329 A, 315 A, and 277 A. For discussion on the seals see page 124 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See above §§ 49-50, 120 (I, pp. 123-4)

the General President. The seal of the '*Śreṣṭhi Śarthavāha Kulika nigama*' legend represented the different sections or *Samavāyas* of the Nigama through their three chiefs. The separate seals related to the separate entities, the corporations sole, e.g., the judicial seal of the *Kulika* judge.

§ 285. The laws of *Paura*, alluded to in the general term *Grāma* or *Township*, and the laws of *Jānapada*, as we have seen in the last chapter, are recognised in the Codes of Hindu Law. They were really the resolutions of these bodies. They had the force of law. The law courts enforced them against offending members. The resolutions regulated primarily the conduct of the corporate bodies and their business *inter se*. They were called *Samaya*, 'law or resolution agreed upon in an assembly' (*sam + ay*). These *Samayas* are called in *Mānu* and *Yājñavalkya*<sup>1</sup> '*Dharmas*' or Laws. We may recall here that according to *Āpastamba*, the oldest writer on Dharma yet discovered, all laws originated in *Samayas*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mānu*, Chapter VIII., 219—22.

अतः कर्त्तुं प्रवृत्ताभिः कर्मैः समवसेदिवान् ।  
 यो नामद्वैजसङ्गामो कृत्वा सत्यं वेदिवन् ।  
 निमग्नैश्चरी क्षीमाश्च राष्ट्रादिप्रवृत्तये ॥  
 निमग्नं राष्ट्रैर्धैर्यं समवसेदभिचारिकम् ।

.....  
 सामवायिसमूहेषु समवस्यभिचारिकान् ॥

*Yājñavalkya, Smṛiti-Pyṭakacraṇa prakāśan*, Bk. II., ver. 185,

निमग्नमभिविर्दिष्टं यतो सामवायिनी सवेत् ।  
 क्षौद्रि यथैव संवृत्तौ यतो राजकृतं तः ॥

For definition of *Samaya* in other codes see § 121, I. p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> *Āpastamba*, I. 1. 3, 'अस्मात् सामवायादिकानि कान्तिष्वाकाशानः ॥'

अभ्रंजसमं प्रमाणम् । १

वेदाद ॥ १

Another class of their resolutions was called *Sthiti* (lit. 'fixed,' 'immutable,') or *Deśasthiti* ' (the *sthiti* of the 'country' or 'country-assembly') which were enforceable against every body. The *Sthiti* was probably the same as the class of their enactments called *Saṃvīd*, 'agreement' or 'laws by agreement.' The *Saṃvids*<sup>2</sup> were passed by the Jānapada and they were recorded on a roll (*Saṃvitpatra*). They were enacted with the formality of the members taking some special oath. They were binding on the whole kingdom. There is clear evidence of the fact that some-times *Saṃvids* were against the interest of the king as some authors of the Codes lay down the exception that those *Saṃvids* only shall be enforced by the Law Courts which are not opposed to the king.<sup>3</sup> The *Samayas* also were put on a roll.<sup>4</sup>

These *Samaya* (*Samaya-Kriyā*) and *Saṃvid* enactments were what we call at present 'Statutes.' They were not *leges* which were embodied in the Hindu Common Law. They were administrative statutes of fiscal and political nature.

§ 287. It is significant that the *Saṃvid* class of acts are mentioned in connection only with the Realm Assembly or the Jānapada and the Township Assembly. Guilds and conquered Gaṇas (republics) and similar bodies could not enact *Saṃvids*. The *Saṃvid* acts thus were the most important of the Paura-Jānapada enactments. Probably

<sup>1</sup> *Īramitrodaya*, p. 120.

ईमस्मिन्नात्मनेन नैवमादृतमिदं वा ।

किमने निर्णयस्य व्यवहारस्य सम्भवेत् ।

—Bṛhaspati.

<sup>2</sup> 'समी ईमस्य सकृद्योक्तमेषां' परमरत्नम् ।

राजाऽविरोधिवर्मादे भविष्यन् वदन्ति मम् ॥

—Bṛhaspati in *Īramitrodaya*, p. 189. समीहे—'legal and political rules.'

<sup>3</sup> See the above note. Also, निवृत्तमविरोधेन वस्तु सामविर्मा महेम् of Yājñavalkya.

<sup>4</sup> एवेतस्मिन्निदं एवै चर्मा सा समयक्रिया ।

VM., p. 425.

through them it was made known to the country to do a thing, e.g., to give a particular extra tax, or to desist from doing a thing.

§ 287. To sum up. We had an organism or a twin organism, the Paura-Jānapada, which could depose the king, who nominated successor to the throne, whose kindly feelings towards a member of the royal family indicated his chance of succession, whose president was apprized by the king of the policy of state decided upon in the council of ministers, who were approached and begged by the king in all humility for a new tax, whose confidence in a minister was regarded an essential qualification for his appointment as chancellor, who were consulted and referred to with profound respect by a king aspiring to introduce a new religion, who demanded and got industrial, commercial and financial privileges for the country, whose wrath meant ruin to provincial governors, who were coaxed and flattered in public proclamations, who could enact Statutes even hostile to the king, in fine, who could make possible or impossible the administration of the king—an organism with these constitutional attributes was an institution which we will be justified in calling the H i n d u D i e t.

The Paura-Jānapada were a powerful check on royal authority. At the same time there were also other influences which kept royal responsibility alive and active.

## CHAPTER XXIX

### Opinion of Thinkers and General Public Opinion

§ 288. To the constitutional check exercised by the Paura-Jānapada we must add the great influence of thinkers and wise men.

The hermits and recluse thinkers living outside society, in the 'forest,' were a political factor in Hindu life. The hermitage was representative of the whole Aryan Society. At the same time it was a repository of past experience in social and political matters and a seat of clear and impartial thinking. The retirements for the people in the third stage were marked out in close neighbourhood of the capital and other towns.<sup>1</sup> Hindu hermits, though in retirement, were not absolutely out of touch with the community and the world of politics. They with their wisdom and impartiality could take a correct view of a difficulty in administration and could advise the king thereon, without reserve or fear.

Then there was the floating wisdom of the yet older generation which could speak to the erring with the authority which no temporal power could command. They spoke in the name of morality and they were heard. It was

<sup>1</sup> *Artha-Sāstra*, Bk. II, Ch. 2, (p. 49) —

प्रदिशामपम्यावरजजनानि च ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ब्रह्मसौमनस्यानि तपोव्रतानि च, तपसिभ्यो दीक्षधर्मादि प्रपश्येत् ।

The Tapovanas were named after the seven original gotras. The Buddha went to one of such āśramas after leaving his home. The āśramas named after gotra-pitris in the Rāmāyana were also such institutions, not that the original gotra-pitris were supposed to be still living.

their privilege to communicate their opinion even unasked for. Literature is full of references shewing the influence which the ascetic wisdom in Hindu race exercised on current politics. Nārada who was, as we now know from Pāli documents of early times, one of the class of Bhikshus called 'Nāradas,' advised Kṛishṇa on his republican difficulties. Coming to later historical times, the Buddha was approached by Ajātaśatru for advice before marching against the Licchavis. Viḍūrabha of Kosala once desisted from declaring hostilities against the Śākyaas owing to the Buddha's opinion. Alexander found the 'gymnosophists'<sup>1</sup> formidable politicians, and with his usual ferocity towards free ideas could not comfortably bear their existence and had several

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *McCrindle, Hecataeus*, pp. 124-126 :-

"God, the supreme King, is never the author of insolent wrong, but is the creator of light, of peace, of life, of water, of the body of man, and of souls and these he receives when death sets them free being in no way subject to evil desire. He alone is the god of my language, who abhors slaughter and instigates no wars. But Alexander is not god, since he must taste of death, and how can such as he be the world's master, who has not yet reached the further shore of the river Tiberious, and has not yet seated himself on a throne of universal dominion?.....if his present dominions are not capacious enough for his desire, let him cross the Ganges river, and he will find a region able to sustain men if the country on our side be too narrow to hold him. Know this, however, that what Alexander offers me, and the gifts he promises, are all things to me utterly useless.... The earth supplies me with everything, even as a mother her child with milk.....Should Alexander cut off my head, he cannot also destroy my soul. My head alone now silent, will remain, but the soul will go away to its master, leaving the body like a torn garment upon the earth whence also it was taken. I then, becoming spirit, shall ascend to my god..... he is judge of all proud wrong-doing; for the groans of the oppressed become the punishments of the oppressors. Let Alexander, then, terrify with those threats those who wish for gold and for wealth and who dread death, for against us those weapons are both alike powerless, since the Brahmanes (= Brāhmanas) neither love gold nor fear death."

No wonder that the Greeks should say that 'Dandamis, although old and naked, was the only antagonist to whom he, the conqueror of many nations, had found more than his match.'

The reader need hardly be reminded that the ascetic was quoting the Upanishads. His description of the Brahmin who neither wished for gold nor dreaded death is relevant on what we say below (§ 290).

of them executed. One of them when asked why he urged the leader of a particular state to oppose Alexander, replied because he 'wished him to live with honour or die with honour' (Plutarch LXIV). Another Sanyāsīn is related by Greek writers to have given Alexander a lesson in politics by comparing Alexander's empire to a piece of dry hide without a centre of gravity, one edge rising up rebelliously while Alexander stood on the other. The old Dandīn (*Dandaniś*) of Taxila, when called upon by Onesikratēs to present himself before Alexander, son of Zeus, master of the world, under the threat 'but if you refuse (he) will cut off your head,' 'complacently smiled' and replied that he was as much son of Zeus as Alexander, that he was quite content with India which supported him like a mother; and sarcastically indicated that the people on the Ganges (the army of Nanda) would convince Alexander that he was not yet the master of the world.<sup>1</sup> In the *Artha-Śāstra* the king is told that 'bad government offends ascetics and recluses.' The *Mahā-Bhārata* in its book on politics enjoins upon the king to inform hermits of the affairs of state and to take counsel from one whose experience was large and whose original family was distinguished and who was now selfless.<sup>2</sup>

§ 289. The tradition came down through the whole course of Hindu history. It was so strong that in the period of Hindu revival it played once more a great role. GURU RĀMĀDĪTSA was

<sup>1</sup> See n., p. 110 above.

<sup>2</sup> *Artha-Śāstra*, Bk. I, Ch. 4:3 (p. 2).

गुरुर्धर्मः ( दण्डः ) कर्मसौख्यमनन्दमोक्षममृतमपि ज्ञानमपि ।

<sup>3</sup> *Mahā-Bhārata* ( Kumbhakonara Edn. *Sānti-Parvan*, Ch. LXXXVI, vv. 26-28

आचार्यं सर्वकारिणं तपसे गृहमेव च ।

निवेद्यैकवर्षेण तिरस्त्रय सर्वदा ।

सर्वोपकारिणं राजा कुर्विष्यति सर्वदा ।

पुत्रद्वयं ताम्रं ददा.....

as great a guide to Śivāji as any Nārada to an ancient predecessor of the latter.

§ 290. With the class of men in hermitage and post-hermitage stages of life, we should count the *Vṛittastha* Brahmin. Nobody can pretend to understand Hindu history without realizing the true social value of the teaching, studying, thinking and sacrificing Brahmin. With a culture of intellect ever developing, from generation to generation, he had grown into a leviathan of brain. That leviathan would have eaten up Hindu Society and burst up himself, but for the self-denying ordinance of poverty. He would engage not in what would bring him wealth. The little wealth he required for his sustenance, he would beg of the Society he had undertaken to serve. He thus became the true aristocrat of Hindu Society, with the differentia peculiar to him in the whole world: that he was the aristocrat-plus-poverty. By the vow of poverty he secured for him an imperishable intellectual existence rooted in independence of spirit and consciousness of virtuous superiority. The race in which he grew stood loyally by him, nourishing and maintaining that leviathan of brain and virtue.

The Brahmin of poverty living inside society and state, and out-side Paura and Jānapada, with his little home and his fire-altars, was probably more mindful of current politics than any one else. In the Jātakas, the Brahmin versed equally in Dharma and Artha, Sacred Knowledge and Science of Politics, is a constant figure. *Vasishṭha* and *Vāmadeva* in the national epics typify the figures who would turn up at the court and advise the king and point out weaknesses in his administration. It is they that lead the Paura-Jānapada deputation in the Rāmāyana to the king to announce the national decision about the appointment of Yuvarāja. And the king addresses them and the Paura-Jānapadas as 'Rulers' ('Kings'). The *Bṛhaspati* and

Kautilya class was not merely concerned with systematizing theories of state ; they made the politics of their country an object of their immediate concern. Kautilya was a Śrotriya or Vedic Brahmin.<sup>1</sup> At the same time Alexander's incoming and the stupid administration of the upstart (Nava) Nanda concerned him more than his Vedic studies. He thought it necessary to overhaul the existing system. The poverty-aristocrat emphasised again and again that State was a life on which depended social, individual and spiritual happiness. He reminded the people again and again that the bases of civilization of the Race are rooted in polity, that the Sword which protects the people is the womb of civilization.<sup>2</sup> The Brahmin idealised and idolised the country of the Aryas as much politically as religiously.<sup>3</sup>

§ 291. The opinion of organised bodies and of ascetics and hermits and Vṛttastha Brahmins apart, the administration

<sup>1</sup> वाचस्पति विचारतः शीघ्रिणः सर्वधर्मेभ्यः । *Upodghata*, Telang's *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, p. 44.

येन राजा न राजा न मन्त्राण्यनन्ता न भूः । अमर्त्योऽस्तुतायाश्च तेन राज्यमिदं कृतम् ।

—*Artha-Sāstra*, (p. 429)

<sup>2</sup> *Mahā-Bharata*, (Kanchikonaṁ Rd.) *S'anti-Parvan*, ch. CLXIV, vs 65-69 :

अस्मिन् समेकं शीघ्रं ददौ सत्क्रान्तिं विश्वे ।

विद्धमरौचये दादायशोविभर्गिणाम् सन् ।

सर्वार्थिभ्यो ददौ खड्गमयस्यै नालयाय च ।

मयेष्टी लोकपालेष्टी लोकपालात् दुष्करः ।

समये धर्मदुष्टात् ददुः शत्रुं युधिस्वरम् ।

क्रतुर्धर्मस्तथा शास्त्रं सानुयायस्यै नमोऽनघः ।

अस्मिन् धर्ममर्त्येण पालयन् राजा धतिः ।

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, the interpretation of *Arydharmā* which Medhātithi gives on Manu, II. 22—

अथो धर्मो तत्र दुः दुःखदुःखभावाकल्याणाय न चिरं तत्र श्रेष्ठः स्वाधारी भवति etc.

had to take into consideration the opinion of the general public as well. That there was a real public opinion in the country, is proved by the passage in the Śānti Parvan of the Mahā-Bhārata,<sup>1</sup> LXXXIX 15-16:

"The king should make secret and trusted agents travel through the kingdom for ascertaining whether his conduct of the previous day has, or has not met with the approbation of the subjects.

"Ascertain whether my conduct is or is not approved, what action of mine in the country is agreeable and what reputation do I have in the realm."

The King's policy and conduct were criticised in the country and the king was anxious to know those criticisms. The ideal is forcefully, though crudely, set forth in the national epic, the Rāmāyaṇa, in the alleged reason as to why Rāma parted with his queen. Though personally convinced of her innocence, he separated himself from her in response to the public will.

§ 292. In the *Bṛihaspati Sūtra* the king is asked to give up the smallest undertaking if there is popular clamour against it.<sup>2</sup> Even the right thing should not be done if the People raise a voice against it.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'अतोऽत दिवसे इत्थं' वर्जयन्ति न वा पुनः ।

यत्तं वाच्यमनुमतेः पृथिवीमनुमादयन् ।

'आसीत् यदि मे इत्थं' वर्जयन्ति न वा पुनः ।

अविद्वोषेऽन्यदपि अविद्वोषे अ मे यत्तः ॥ (Kumbh).

<sup>2</sup> *Bṛihaspati Sūtra* (Ed. F. W. Thomas):

I. 95. अतर्होमे कलिं वृद्धकर्म न कुर्वीत ।

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 4. अर्होमेऽपि सोऽविद्वत् न कुर्वीत ।

## CHAPTER XXX

### Council of Ministers

§ 292. Was the Hindu king a personal ruler? To answer this let us examine the position of the Hindu Council of Ministers. To appreciate the constitutional position of the Council of Ministers it is necessary to recall the previous history of the Council. The Hindu Council of Ministers was a body and an organism which had differentiated and branched off from the old National Assembly of Vedic times. In the Atharva-Veda, as we have already noticed, the *rājākṛits* are a part of the 'folk around' the king who invest him with sovereignty.<sup>1</sup> The *rājākṛits* or 'king-makers' appear later as *Ratnīn* High Functionaries (Commander-in-chief, Treasurer, etc.) whom the king-elect worships before his consecration.<sup>2</sup> In worshipping the *Ratnīns*, he does honour to them both as officers of the state and as representatives of the society. Their approval like the approval of the remaining representatives of the Community was solicited before the election of the would-be king. In other words, they are officers but as part of the community, and not as creatures of the crown. This origin is further borne out by the technical expression applied to denote their collective body.

§ 293. The Council of Ministers is called the *Paṛiśad*, in the *Artha-Śāstra*<sup>3</sup> and *Paṛiṣā* in the *Jātakas*,<sup>4</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> See above § 204.

<sup>2</sup> See above § 212.

<sup>3</sup> *Artha-Śāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. XV.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. VI, pp. 405 and 431.

Mahāvastu<sup>1</sup> and Aśoka's inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> It does not interchange (until late) with other words of similar meaning. Now the *Parishad* was another name for the National Assembly of the Vedic Hindus. In the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* as already pointed out, the *Samiti* is called *Parishad*.<sup>3</sup> The Council of Ministers, thus differentiated from the *Samiti-Parishad*, inherited the same name like the *Parishad* of Law. With that name they likewise inherited and retained the popular tradition and sense of responsibility.

§ 294. They never lost their Vedic prestige even in the most powerful days of the Hindu monarch. <sup>Use of Vedic term</sup> They had been *rājakṛts* or 'king-makers' and 'kings' (rulers) under popular constitution and they remained 'king-makers' and 'kings' in the Pāli Sūtras, and in the national epic. The Pāli Canon employs 'king-makers' as a synonym for ministers.<sup>4</sup> The *Rāmāyaṇa* in describing the ministers who put their resolution before Bharata, calls them 'king-makers.' In the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* the High Ministers were called 'kings.'<sup>5</sup> Aśoka calls his High Ministers 'reins-holders' [of the state] i.e. 'ruling ministers.'<sup>6</sup>

§ 295. It is a law and principle of Hindu constitution <sup>Council and King</sup> that the king cannot act without the approval and cooperation of the Council of Ministers. The law-sūtras,

<sup>1</sup> *Mahāvastu*, Vol. II, pp. 419, 442.

<sup>2</sup> Rock Series III and VI.

<sup>3</sup> See above § 9, Pt. I, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Dīghanikāya-Mahāvastu Suttanta* § 32, 'rājakṛttaro.'

<sup>5</sup> *Āgaddya-Kaṇṇa*, Ch. LXXIX, 1. समेल राजकर्तारो अरतं राजसमनुवन् ; Commentary 6 quoted in the Kumbakonam Ed. राजकर्तारः = सल्लिखः।

<sup>6</sup> राजादी नाम पठन्ता राजा पदेसरत्ता सल्लिखराजा धम्मभीदिता चकारदन्ता न्हानता ये वा पन ईल्लमेवा चतुससंति पने राजादी नाम, quoted by Childers, PD., p. 397.

<sup>7</sup> *Rājaka* in Rock Series III; and Pillar Series IV, where the *Rājaka* ministers are entrusted with complete powers of government. (*Dappā*). See Jayarwal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 41. See also above Pt. II, p. 18 n.

the law-books, and the political treatises are all unanimous on the point. Manu calls a king foolish who would attempt to carry on the administration by himself. He regards such a king as unfit.<sup>1</sup> He lays down that the king must have 'colleagues,' i.e., ministers; and that in their midst and along with them he has to consider ordinary and extraordinary matters of state,<sup>2</sup> even ordinary business ought not to be done by one man, not to speak of the conduct of a kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Yājñavalkya is of the same opinion<sup>4</sup> and so are the other law-givers. Kātyāyana ordains that the king should not decide even a law-suit by himself and that he should do it along with the council.<sup>5</sup> Even Kauṭīliya, the greatest advocate of monarchy, has to say that matters of state should be discussed by the council

<sup>1</sup> See above § 245; Manu, VII, 30—31.

<sup>2</sup> VII, 54—57.

<sup>3</sup> Manu, VII, 30—31, 54—56.

सोऽप्यहोऽपि नृपेण कृमोनाशनवृद्धिना ।  
न मन्त्रो न्यायतो नैव तद्विषयिष्ये ॥ ३० ॥  
युधिषा मन्त्रमन्त्रेण मन्त्राणांमन्त्रादिना ।  
वक्त्रः सव्यभिक्तं मन्त्रः सुमन्त्रादेन श्रीमन्ता ॥ ३१ ॥  
अदि वरदुर्गर्ज्जने नृपेण विदुषां नृपेण ।  
विदुषां नृपेण विदुषां विदुषां विदुषां विदुषां ।  
विदुषां नृपेण विदुषां विदुषां विदुषां विदुषां ।  
विदुषां नृपेण विदुषां विदुषां विदुषां विदुषां ।

<sup>4</sup> Yājñavalkya, Br. I, 511.

तैः सार्वे विदुषां नृपेण ।

<sup>5</sup> Vira-Mitradaya, p. 14.

समाधिपतिः नृपेण ।  
समाधिपतिः नृपेण ।

of ministers and whatever the majority decides the king should carry out. It should be noted that this rule is enjoined even when there is a body of mantrins or cabinet separate from the Mantri-Parishad. The Artha-Sāstra says:

"When there is an extraordinary matter the Mantrins and the Mantri-Parishad should be called together and informed. In the meeting whatever the majority decide to be done, should be done (by the king)."<sup>1</sup>

It is remarkable that the king is not given even the power of vetoing. The Kauṭiliya in emphasising the importance of the Parishad says that Indra was called 'thousand-eyed,' although he had only two eyes, because he had thousand wise members in his Mantra-Parishad or Council of State who were regarded as his eyes.<sup>2</sup>

The Śukranītisāra, which in matters of first principles follows tradition faithfully, prescribes:

"Without the mantrins matters of state should never be considered by the king alone, be he an expert in all the sciences and versed in policy. A wise king must always follow the opinion of the members of the council—of Adhikārins or Ministers with portfolios, of the President (Sabhya, § 309) and Subjects (Prakṛitis, § 304). He must never follow his own opinion. When the sovereign becomes independent (of his council) he plans

<sup>1</sup> Artha-Sāstra, Bk. I, Chap. 15 : 11 (p. 29).

आचार्यो राजे मन्त्रिणो मन्त्रिपरिषदादयः सन्तः । तत्र बहुविधाः आदर्शविरक्तं वा प्रयत्नकुर्वन् ।

See Jayaswal, *Ind. Ant.* 1913, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Artha-Sāstra, Bk. I, Ch. 15 : 11 (p. 29.) :

एतद्विद्वि मन्त्रपरिषदोपायं कुरुष्व । तद्वद्विः । तद्वद्विः तद्वद्विः तद्वद्विः ।

"for ruin. In time he loses the state and loses the subjects."

The king, according to Manu (VII. 57), should consult the ministers separately and then 'all of them together'—i.e., as Madhātithi explains, in the council. This is exactly, almost verbally, what Kauṭilya lays down.<sup>1</sup> By thus discussing, the king was to derive benefit. The cleverest of the minister, who should be a Brahmin, was to be completely depended upon by the king, and entrusted with the execution of all the resolutions.<sup>2</sup> All the business thus was to be left for execution in the hands of a Prime Minister or Chancellor.

The Bṛīhaspati Sūtra says that even 'a rightful thing (*dharma*) the king should do only on the advice of the wise.'<sup>3</sup> That is, for even a lawful action in administration the king must have the authority of expert ministers.

§ 296. In this connection we must also notice the very important constitutional law laid down by the Dharma School of law-givers that it was not competent for the king to make gifts

Gifts by King to be rectified or rejected by Ministry

<sup>1</sup> SNS. II, 2-4:—

सर्वविद्याय कुशलो दधी क्षपि सुमनायिन् ।  
मल्लिभिन् विना मन्त्रं नैकोऽर्थं विमर्शितं कथिन् ॥ १  
सभाधिकारि-प्रकृति-समाख्यसूक्तं स्मृतः ।  
सर्वदा स्वात्मनः दातुः क्षमते न च दातव्यं ॥ २  
भूमिः क्षातनाशान्दही क्षमनादि च क्षमते ।  
मित्ररात्री नवैकाद्यो मित्रप्राप्तिरिव च ॥ ३

<sup>2</sup> तानिर्देशकः दधीन् सुमनायि ॥ AS., p 18

विद्या कां क्षमभिदायमुक्तव्यं दधन् दधन् ।

समक्षानो च कार्ये विद्वद्भाषितमात्मनः ॥ Manu, VII. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Manu, VII. 58-59.

<sup>4</sup> धर्मस्य लोकविदुः न कुर्वीत । करीणि विद्यायाश्चैव कुर्वीतः । Bṛ. Sūtra, I. 4-5.

even to Brahmins if the ministers "opposed" the gifts. The law is as ancient as the time of Āpastamba.<sup>1</sup> (circa 400 B. C.).

With the history of the origin of Hindu Ministry and these laws of the constitution before us we can understand how the Ministry under Chancellor Rādhā-Gupta refused to make further gifts to the Buddhist Brotherhood on the order of the Emperor Aśoka.<sup>2</sup> Otherwise we would have fallen into the cheap wisdom of regarding the whole story as a 'myth' and a 'Buddhist fabrication'.

Aśoka in his Rock Series inscriptions section VI says that when he has passed an order with regard to a gift or a proclamation, should a discussion arise in the Parishad (Council of Ministers) and they (the ministers) shelve it, he should be informed of it—if there was a division of opinion with regard to his proposal in the Parishad or a total rejection, he should at once be informed of it.<sup>3</sup> That shows that the ministers had been for some time opposing the rulings of the Emperor.

§ 297. Rudradāman was similarly opposed by his Ministers with regard to his proposal to repair the Sudarśana

<sup>1</sup> Āpastamba, II. 10. 26, 1.—

नवतानमदपरीषेन देव विमल ददवाग्रवेदी यथाईमनन्ताहीमानमिच्छति । ११२-०१४१

For *Bhāṣya* in the sense of minister see *Artha-Śāstra*, p. 320 "मन्त्रिपुरोचितादि-व्यवहारेण", and the reference to the *Divyāvadāna* below.

<sup>2</sup> *Divyāvadāna*, p. 439, *et seq.* I regard the detail of the first gift of Aśoka as given in the *Divyāvadāna* to be substantially true, for it was in the nature of a *Vāṁśī* (*Sarvamedha*—( सर्वमेध ) for which a Śākya Emperor which Aśoka was expected to make, as the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* describes (§ 209). The ruler gave away all that belonged to him except the land, i.e., the State, as Māṇṣu says (See § 345). In other words, he gave away the surplus revenue which he had in his treasury. To an occasional gift like this the ministers would not have objected as that was the right of the Emperor to make. But a repeated procedure of this nature would be objectionable as the Ministers of Aśoka found it to be.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, 1913, p. 242.

La k e. Opinion of Rudradāman's Ministers was against the king's proposal for repairing Sulargana water-works. They refused to pay for the repairs and the king had to pay from his private purse.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately for Indian history the evidence of Rudradāman's inscription is as clear as any could be. It proves that the constitutional laws were not mere pious wishes, but they were as real as ordinary, municipal laws of the law-books. Thanks to the Buddhist works which have preserved the great constitutional datum on the reign of Aśoka in their pathetic lament that the Emperor of the whole of India was deprived of his sovereign authority by the ministers of state.<sup>2</sup> The *Gāthā*<sup>3</sup> quoted by the *Dīvyāvadāna* is more ancient

<sup>1</sup> See § 270 above, *ET*, VIII, 44 (loc. lines 16-17).

<sup>2</sup> *Dīvyāvadāna* p. 439. Aśoka anxious to complete his intended gift of money to the Kukkuṭārāma monastery says, 'Kāṭhagupta, I do not mind the loss of money, of government or authority.'

राजाऽ । राक्षसः । शार्ङ्गद्वन्द्वविदारः । न राज्ञाजने न शार्ङ्गद्वन्द्वीनं जीवामि ।

नक्षिन्धुः समवे कुशाग्रस्य शम्भुद्विनामपुत्रो युरारजो नवर्तते । राजासाक्षीरहितम् । कुशाग्र-  
यसोऽसौ राजा शम्भुकाशनाम्नायौ । यद् यद् यद् कुर्बुरारामं पश्यते, जीवन्निव राजासौ, निवर्तते-  
नमः । यद् यद् कुमारेण शार्ङ्गद्वन्द्वीयः प्रतिविद्धः ।

"At that particular time Kumbhila's son, Sampadi, was filling the post of Yurarija. He was told by the Ministers 'Your Royal Highness, King Aśoka is temporarily in his position but he is sending away the money to the Kukkuṭārāma. King's strength lies in treasury. He is to be checked.' The Prince prohibited the Treasurer." [For the position of Yurarija as a High Minister, and resolutions going up to him from other members of the Cabinet, see below § 312].

यद् राजासौकः प्रविष्टोऽमात्रान् वीरान् भविष्यत् कथयति । नः शम्भुः प्रविश्यामीश्वरः ।  
नवीनमात्रं उवाचानवायेन राजासौकः शम्भुः प्रविश्यामीश्वरः । (p. 431) इह प्रविश्यामीश्वरः । यद्  
राजासौकः शम्भुद्विन्द्वयन-शम्भुद्विनामपुत्राय—

राशिमादृतं वि विं कथयन् शम्भुद्विनामपुत्राय ।

"Now King Aśoka, very much agitated in mind, called a meeting of the Ministers and the Puroha. He asked—Who at present is the Sovereign of the Country? On that the Prime Minister rising from his seat approached the place where King Aśoka was

than the compilation of the *Divyāvadāna*, and the former could not have been composed many centuries after the event. The monks were to gain nothing by an invention of such a story which threw discredit on a great personage of their religious history. They would not have invented a story which would have been a bad precedent in case other monarchs wanting to imitate the munificence of the Maurya Emperor.

§ 298. The numerical strength of the Ministry varied from time to time. Brihaspati in his book on politics quoted by Kauṭilya gave the number of the council members to be sixteen. The *Artha-Śāstra* of the Mānavas laid down 'that the Council of Ministers should be composed of twelve ministers': *mantripariśadaṃ, dvādaśamāstyaṃ<sup>1</sup> kurviteti Mānavāḥ*. Another old authority, Uśanas, enjoined in his time twenty, while Kauṭilya would not have any rigid number.<sup>2</sup> Earlier Councils were larger, as one is mentioned in the *Mahā-Bhārata* of thirty-two members (§ 321). There has been a tendency towards a smaller body.

§ 299. We shall revert again to the Mantri-Parishad, and to the powers of the Ministers as a body. Let us now

and saluting him respectfully spoke, 'His (=Your) Majesty is the Sovereign of the Country.' Then King Aśoka with tears trickling down his face answered the Ministers :

'Why do you tell an untruth on account of courtesy ? We are deprived of rule !'

आमगुरो नमस्कृत्यो वसीको भोऽंकुशरः ।

बन्धुहीनिकरीमुना जातोऽयमहर्षिकरः ।

असौः समुत्पत्तिरसङ्गताधिकारी शर्म प्रहङ्कति किमस्यकार्यमेतन् ।

"The liberal king Aśoka, the best of the Mauryas, who was the Emperor of India, became the sovereign of a half-apple [on his plate]. That King now deprived of authority by the Ministers, gave away in charity the half-apple."

<sup>1</sup> Kauṭilya, *Artha-Śāstra*, Bk. I, Ch. 15 : 11 (p. 29). Read *amāstyaṃ* instead of *amāstya* as printed in the AS ; it qualifies *mantripariśadāṃ*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*.

note the official designations of different ministers. The number of the Ministry or Cabinet is recommended by Mann (VII. 54) to be seven or eight. The number eight had become nearly fixed when the Śukranīti was written, and on its tradition the AṣṭaPradhāna, or the Ministry of Eight, of Śivāji, was founded. The eight ministers according to 'some' authorities referred to in the Śukranīti are the following:—

- (1) The Sumantra or Minister of Finance.
- (2) The Paṇḍitāmātya or Minister of Law.
- (3) The Mantriṇ or Home Minister.
- (4) The Pradhāna or President of Council.
- (5) The Sachiva or Minister of War.
- (6) The Amātya or Minister of Revenue and Agriculture.
- (7) The Prādīvāka or Minister of Justice and Chief Justice.
- (8) The Pratinidhi ('Representative': See below).

According to another view two other ministers—

- [(9) The Purohita or Minister of Religion,
  - (10) The Dāta or Minister of Diplomacy,<sup>1</sup>
- should also have seats in the Council]. The exact character

<sup>1</sup> Ś'ukranītiśāstra, II. 71-72.

अथप्रज्ञातिभिर्गुणैः सप्तः सौविप्रसुतः सदा ॥  
सुमन्त्रः पण्डितो मन्त्री प्रधानः सचिवसदया ॥  
अमान्यः प्रादिवक्ता सदा प्रतिनिधिः क्षुद्रः ॥

<sup>2</sup> Ś'ukranītiśāstra, II. 84-87.

सर्वदमो प्रधानश्च सैवविज्ञः सचिवसदया ॥  
मन्त्री तु गीतिकुसलः पण्डितो धर्मज्ञविद्वत् ॥  
लोकसाधनवयस्यः प्रादिवक्ताः क्षुद्रः सदा ॥  
द्वैतकालप्रविशाला अमान्य इति ज्ञायते ॥  
आयस्यप्रविशाला सुमन्त्रः स च सौचित्यः ॥  
पञ्चिकाकारपदाक्षः क्षुद्रिमान्द्वैतकालविद्वत् ॥  
प्रादिवक्तामन्त्रिणां गीतमोदुत इत्यनेन ॥

of the *Pratinidhi* is not clear. He is evidently very important being given precedence over the President of the Council and the Mantrin. He was 'to press upon the King the 'business which must be done whether favourable or 'unfavourable.' He is certainly not the 'representative' of the king. He might have been the representative of the Paura-Jānapadas in the Cabinet or that of the Council in dealing with the King. He is certainly very, probably the most, important.

§ 300. The *Y u v a r ā j a* is not a member of the Cabinet in this enumeration but he is certainly a Minister. He was generally a prince of the blood: uncle, brother, nephew, son, an adopted

*Y u v a r ā j a* and  
Princes as  
Ministers

सहितवापि मन्त्राद्यैः सदाः कर्तुं पर्यावृत्तम् ।

सकृत् सहितमपि शास्त्रं प्रतिनिधिः सदा ।

वीर्यदीप्तारविन्दकुण्डलं कुण्डलं प्रदीपयेत् ।

मर्त्यं वा सदिशमनं कार्यमात्मनो योजनम् ।

सर्वेषां राजजनेषु प्रधानमविविचयेत् ।

et seq up to St. 106.

OL Śivaji's *Ashka-Pradhāna*. "The Civil organization of the District was, of course, subordinate to the authorities at head-quarters, two of whom—the *Pant Amatya* and the *Pant Sachiv*, had respectively the charge of what in our time would be called the office of Finance Minister and the General Accountant and Auditor. The district accounts had to be sent to these officers, and were there collated together, and irregularities detected and punished. These officers had power to depute men on their establishments to superintend the working of the district officers. The *Pant Amatya* and the *Sachiv* were, next to the *Pradhan*, the highest civil officers, and they had, besides these revenue duties, military commands. They were both important members of the Board of Administration, called the *Ashka Pradhāna* or Cabinet of eight heads of departments. The *Pradhan* was Prime Minister, next to the King, and was at the head of both the civil and military administrations, and sat first on the right hand below the throne. The *Senapati* was in charge of the military administration, and sat first on the left side. *Amatya* and *Sachiv* sat next to the *Pradhan*, while the *Mantri* sat next below the *Sachiv*, and was in charge of the King's private affairs. The *Savant* was Foreign Secretary, and sat below the *Senapati* on the left. Next came *Pandit-ras*, who had charge of the ecclesiastical department, and below him on the left side sat the Chief Justice, [*—Nyāyādhipati*]." Bhande, *Rise of Maratha Power*, pp. 125-6.

son, or a grandson.<sup>1</sup> Like other Ministers he was a *Sahāya* or 'Colleague' of the king. The *Yuvarāja* had his seal, and the set formula with which he signed. Under Aśoka, on the authority of the *Divyāvadāna*,<sup>2</sup> *Saṃprati*, a grandson, was the *Yuvarāja*, while the son, *Kuṇāla* was the Presidency Governor at *Takṣaśilā* (the capital of the Northern Presidency).

A Prince royal in office was regarded as an officer. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara calls him *Kumāra-adhyakṣa* ['Prince Officer in charge of Department' who held the 'reins' of government.<sup>3</sup> In Aśoka's inscriptions despatches to Presidency Governments are addressed to the 'Prince' and High Ministers, (*Kumāra* and *Mahāmātras*), the latter being called a *Varga* or Council.<sup>4</sup> Evidently it is such a *Kumāra* whom Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, rather his authority, called *niganta* or 'one who leads' 'by reins' (*rajjubhiḥ*). The Buddhist books<sup>5</sup> make Aśoka governor one time at *Takṣaśilā* and at another at *Ujjain* (the capital of the Western Presidency) *Maurya* Princes of the blood royal governed with their Councils in the South<sup>6</sup>; while the conquered province of *Kaliṅga* was governed only by a Council of *Mahāmātras*. It is significant that Despatches from the Central Government, copies of which are given in the inscriptions, are never addressed to the prince by name; they are impersonal. The Princes, like the *Mahāmātras* (whom we shall presently discuss) were probably transferred as the two viceroalties held by Aśoka indicate. In that case non-personal documents would be quite in form.

<sup>1</sup> *Sakuntaladuta*, II. 15.

सकलितं पितरं वामनं मातुलमप्यम्  
पुत्रं पुत्रीकृतं दत्तं वीरराजो विविचयेत् ॥  
कलादमात्रे दीर्घेन शशिशं वा निरोधयेत् ॥

<sup>2</sup> *Divyavadāna*, p. 420. See above II, p. 121, n.

<sup>3</sup> See above, II, p. 18, n.

<sup>4</sup> See 'Separate office' of *Urima* ; *J. B. O. S.*, IV, p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> *Divyavadāna*, p. 372 ; *Mahāvaṃsa*, V, 46.

<sup>6</sup> See *Jangada* and *Bhauli* 'Separate' Rock-Inscriptions and *Siddhapura* Inscription.

§ 301. The official designations of the Ministers for different portfolios varied from time to time.  
*Designations of Ministers*

The *Mānava Dharma-Śāstra* uses the word *Sachiva*, lit., 'helper,' 'colleague,' as a general term for Ministers' as against the *Amātya* (lit., 'those remaining together') of the *Artha-Śāstra*. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* *Amātya* occurs in the general sense, while *Sachivas* are distinguished from the *Mantrins*.<sup>1</sup>

The Chief Minister is called *Mantrin* (lit., 'Adviser'), i.e., the *Mantrin*, in the *Artha-Śāstra*, whose position is the first amongst the Ministers. Next to him comes in the *Artha-Śāstra* the *Purohita*, then the *Senāpati* and after the *Senāpati* comes the *Yuvārāja*.<sup>2</sup>

The *Mānava* calls the Prime Minister simply *Amātya*, that is, he was the *Amātya*. In him was vested the administration or *dapḍa*.<sup>3</sup> He, as especially required by the *Mānava* (VII. 58; XII. 100.), was to be a Brahmin. In earlier times, in the Pāli Canon, the Prime Minister, e.g., of *Ajātasattu*, is styled *Agra-Mahāmātra* 'the Foremost Minister.' In the *Divyāvadāna*, the Chief Minister of *Aśoka* [*Rādhagupta*] is called the *Amātya*. He is evidently the *Mantrin* in the *Śukra-nīti*. In the Gupta period he is probably called the *Mahādandanāyaka*. (§ 322).

The *Mānava* Code does not specifically mention the *Purohita*. But he is very likely included in the 'seven or eight' Ministers of *Manu*. This Minister bears the same designation (*Purohita* or *Purodhas*, lit., 'Leader') throughout, but his functions varied with a tendency to gradual extension. In the *Jātukas* and *Dharma Sūtras*<sup>4</sup> he is expected to be versed

<sup>1</sup> *Manu*, VII. 54.

<sup>2</sup> *Yodhahatpda*, 130 17—20 (*Kumbhakonam*), *Govindarāja*.

<sup>3</sup> *Artha-Sāstra*, Bk. V. Ch. 2; 21 (p. 245).

<sup>4</sup> *Manu*, VII. 65.

<sup>5</sup> *Jātuka*, Vol. I, p. 437; *Jātuka*, vol. II, p. 30; *Āpastamba Dh. S.*, II. 5. 10, 13—14.

both in sacred law and politics. Āpastamba<sup>1</sup> expects him to judge cases where *Prāyaścitta* or penance was to be inflicted. He was also to try Brahmins on behalf of the king. The *Artha-Śāstra*<sup>2</sup> requires him to be learned in the Veda and its *Āṅgas*, in astrology, and in politics, and that he should also know the Atharvan rites, which were to be performed in cases of national calamities to satisfy the common people. The *Śukra-Nīti*<sup>3</sup> demands a knowledge of the military science and art as well in the Purohita.

The Mānava styles the *Minister of Diplomacy* as *Data*,<sup>4</sup> who had jurisdiction with regard to *peace* and *war* relations with foreign powers and "who broke up alliances." The Rāmāyaṇa (II. 100.35) knows him by that title and so does the Śukra-Nīti. But subsequently he is called *Sandhi-vigrahika*, in inscriptions of the Gupta period, in Brihaaspati's law and later. It is curious that this Minister is not found in the list of the *Artha-Śāstra*. Probably the Mantrin combined that office in himself. The office was very important in Maurya days.

In the Mānava Code the king is his own *Finance Minister*.<sup>5</sup> He himself holds charge of the Finance. He is not directly named in Manu but his subordinates are mentioned under the designation which the *Artha-Śāstra* gives to him—*Samāhartṛi*. In the *Artha-Śāstra* there is an allied portfolio, of the *Sannidhātṛi* (§ 211). Later on the two portfolios coalesce into one. In the Śukranīti the Minister of Finance is *Sumantra*. Govinda-rāja (§ 309) gives another designation, *arthasañchayakṛit*.

The *Senāpati* is evidently the *Minister of War*. He is very important in the government of

<sup>1</sup> Āpastamba, *Dharm-Sūtra*, II. 3. 10, 15-18, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Artha-Śāstra*, Bk. I Ch. 8; 5 (p. 15).

<sup>3</sup> *Śukra-Nītiśāra*, II. 80. नीतिशास्त्राभासुदादिब्रह्मणोऽपि हि तः ;

<sup>4</sup> Manu, VII. 65-66. इति सन्धिकर्तव्यो । इति एव हि सन्धिः भिन्नयोगे च सन्ध्याम् ।

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, इत्येव नीतिशास्त्रे च—(65).

Chandragupta, coming third in precedence, taking his place above the Yuvarāja. In the Śukranīti he is called 'Sachiva'. Probably the Senāpati was both the military leader in the field and the military member in the Council as is suggested in the Rāmāyaṇa, II, 100, 31. But in the time of Kauṭilya the two offices were distinct (§ 309) and they remained distinct in later times. In the Śukra-nīti he is a civilian officer, as the eight ministers were transferred from one portfolio to the other and they all occupy equal rank (§ 320).

§ 302. The above five ministers, with the Yuvarāja in addition, made up the real governing body.  
Cabinet

The Yuvarāja is a post-Vedic development while all others had origin in the Rātrins, except probably Dūta whose function might have been performed by the Sūta as he appears to be rather important in early days.<sup>1</sup> The Yuvarāja, it should be marked, occupies the fourth place in the Government of Chandragupta. Then and later he is not the President of the Cabinet or the Council as there are other officers in those posts; evidently no portfolio is given to him. The Mahā-Bhārata (XII, 83, 12.) calls the cabinet a *gaṇa* and so does the Śukra-nīti (§ 312). The Mahā-Bhārata says that the king should not be partial to any one member of the *gaṇa*.

§ 303. There was a tendency to form a smaller body inside the cabinet. The members of this, what we may call the Inner body, were three or four, according to the Artha-Śāstra (p. 28.). It was with them that the king constantly conferred ('मन्त्रयेत्'). These ministers are called the Mantrins (मन्त्रिणः) in the Artha-Śāstra and the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata. In this character the 'mantrins' mean 'those vested with *mantra* or the policy of state,' as is evident from the expressions *mantradharas* in the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>2</sup> and *mantra-grāhas* in the Mahā-Bhārata.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Mahā-Bhārata, Sachjaya becomes Minister of Finance, XII, 42.

<sup>2</sup> *Ayudhya*, Canto 100, 16.

<sup>3</sup> XII, 83, 50.

The members of 'the mantra-holding' (mantra-grāha) or 'the holders of the reins' of state (II, p. 18 n.) body were to be, according to the Mahā-Bhārata, 'at least three' and preferably five.<sup>1</sup> Kautilya prescribes it to be 'three or four' (p. 28). The original view probably was that such holder-of-mantra should be only one as recognised by the king. This was the view of that severe theorist, Kaṇika Bhāradvāja<sup>2</sup> (Artha-Śāstra, p. 27), and it seems to have been the view of the Mānava Dharma Code (VII. 58). Viśālākṣha condemned the system of one-minister-cabinet (Artha-Śāstra, p. 27), and the Rāmāyaṇa does the same, according to which (II. 100. 18) it should "neither be of one nor too many." The number three and upwards became fixed, as evidenced by the Mahā-Bhārata and the quotations in *Nītiśāstra*.<sup>3</sup> The uneven number found preference for the same reason as given by Mitra Miśra in the case of uneven jury: सङ्गवैषम्यन्तु भूयोऽस्यविरोधे भूयसां स्यात् 'uneven number is to provide, against difference in opinion, for a majority.'

§ 304. Aśoka's rājāka ministers (§ 318) who had the fullest authority to rule over the *prajā* (subjects) and to grant them *anugrahas*, and in whose hands the king left the *prajā* as a mother leaves her child in the hands of a known nurse (Pillar Proclamation IV), and who were declared supreme in the matters of *dapḍa* (administration) and *abhikāra* (declaring hostilities), seem to be identical with the *mantra-dhavas* or *mantra-grahas*. *Rājāka* signifies the 'ruling minister,' literally it denotes 'the holder

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 47, 52, 29-22.

<sup>2</sup> We ought to recover his work. He is quoted as late as by Govindarāja.

<sup>3</sup> एको मनी न कर्तव्यः । एको विरचयति नृपतिं च कार्यकर्तुः । चापि मन्त्रिणो न कर्तव्यौ, ती मन्त्री चरन्ती भवन्ती मन्त्री च विचारयन्तः । चतुः एव सप्त वा मन्त्रिणः कार्यः । Ch. X.

<sup>4</sup> *Vīranitrodaya*, p. 35

of the reins [of Government]' like Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara's *rajjubhir niyantā* and that *Mantra grāhas* of the *Mahā-Bhārata*. With regard to the use of the word *rājā* applied to them we should notice that the *Prātimokkha sūtra*, quoted by Childers in his Pali Dictionary under *rājā*, says that the high ministers (*mahā-mātras*) were called *rājās*. The number of Aśoka's *Rājukas* was certainly more than one, they being generally referred to in the plural.

§ 305 In the history of the Cabinet we have a growth in number, and a change—from the authority of one to that of several. The rule of one was always found incompatible with the tradition and the whole social system of the race.

§ 306 Apart from the cabinet of the *Mantra-dharas* who had the real executive authority, there was, as we have already seen, the *Mantra-parishad* or the *Mantri-parishad*. The *Mantri-parishad* was not solely composed of the *Mantrins*. To the meetings of this body, the *Mantrins* or 'the holders of *Mantra*' ministers were called according to the *Kauṭīliya*. The *Parishad* was composed of (1) these *Mantradharas* (Inner cabinet) (2) other cabinet ministers who held portfolios, (3) ministers without portfolios, and (4) others. The number was generally large; as the numbers 32 of the *Mahā-Bhārata*, 20 and 16 of other authorities, and *Kauṭīliya*'s example of *Indra*'s large council show. It thus exceeded the number of the ministers of the cabinet.

§ 307 We have no definite information as to who composed the class (4). The Council summoned by Aśoka on the ministers refusing to carry out his orders of gifts, consisted of the *Pauras* (Ch. XXVIII), and the *Amātyas*. It seems from other pieces of evidence that the Council had some seats assigned in it to the leaders of the *Paura* and *Jānapada*. The *Mahā-Bhārata* (*Śānti*, ch. 83)

and the Śukranīti (II. 3.)<sup>1</sup> suggest that. The opinion which the king was bound to follow according to the Śakra-nīti (II. 3), was of (a) the *Sabhyā*, (b) the *Adhikārins*, and (c) the *Prakṛitis*, as *sabhasads* or members sitting in the Council. The *Sabhyā* according to the authority quoted by Govindarāja (§ 309) was the President of the Council or the Mantra-Parishad of Kauṭilya. *Adhikārins* were the heads of *Adhikaraṇas* or Departments, i. e., the Ministers. The remaining one *Prakṛitis* must necessarily signify the People or Subjects (p. 70), meaning thereby their representatives—the chiefs of the *Paura* and *Jānapada* (§ 265). In the *Rāmāyaṇa* [A., chs. 81 (12), 82 (1, 4)] the People's representatives and the Ministers meet and hold a *Sabhā* called the 'ruling (*pragrahā*) *Sabhā*' to consider an *atyāyika* ('extra-ordinary,' cf. AŚ., p. 29) business.

The *Mahā-Bhārata*<sup>2</sup> where it describes the *Sabhā* (XII. 83. verses 1-2) counts these classes :

- (1) The *Sahāyas* by whom it means the 'Ministers (*Amātyas*) colleagues (*Sahāyas*)' or the High Ministers with portfolios (verses 3-4).
- (2) The *Parichekhada amātyas* who should be very learned, of high birth, natives of the country, deep, wise and loyal. As the name ('Robes') denotes, they were probably ceremonial ministers and dignitaries who had grown out of the king's house-hold. One of them was the *Dauvārika* or Lord Mayor of the Palace occupying a very high position (§ 309). They had their *Adhikaraṇas* or Departments (§ 309). Out of the above the king chose his 'Mantrins' (7-8) who are referred to in the Śūkanīti verse, (II. 2) preceding

<sup>1</sup> कन्याधिकारि-प्रकृति-समाग्रस्तं नृपे विद्यते । सर्वदा व्यावृत्तं यावत् समस्ते न कदाचन ॥ (SNB.)

<sup>2</sup> समाग्रस्तः सहायान् सुहृदश्च विद्वांसि । परिचेखदोऽप्यमानायाः कौरवः च । विद्वानश्च (MBh.)

the one quoted above. The subject of Mantrins continues for the rest of the chapter in the Mahā-Bhārata and with a small digression is taken up again in Ch. 85, where the list of 32 ministers is given. Out of them the king is to choose 8 ministers as Mantrins or the cabinet. Whatever policy they decided upon is to be submitted to the Rāshṭra and the President of the Rāshṭra, i.e., the Jānapada, for opinion.

- (3) The Rāshṭra. This new element corresponds to the *Prakṛiti* of the Śukranīti.<sup>1</sup>

The *Realm* ('Rāshṭra') of the Mahā-Bhārata and the *People* ('*Prakṛiti*') of the Śukranīti are thus identical with the *Paura* in the council called by Aśoka and the *Prakṛiti-sabhāshada* (A. 82, 4, 17) of the Rāmāyaṇa.

It thus seems that the *Parishat* had not only the popular trace in its Vedic name, but a real popular element in it. Although it was now associated with the designation of the "*Mantra*—" or *Mantrin*—, it carried on in some degree the Vedic tradition of the folk assembly.

§ 308. It is better to render the *Mantri-Parishad* as *Council of State* rather than the Council of Ministers. The form *Mantra-Parishat*, 'Council of State Deliberation' which Kaṭilya applies to the *Mantri-parishad* of Indra, should be noted in this connexion. Probably the *Mantri-parishad* there signifies the *Mantra-Parishad*. The tradition of a large Parishad, e.g. of 1000 members, is preserved both in Kaṭilya, and in the Rāmāyaṇa (where it stands

<sup>1</sup> [It probably corresponds also to the *śāhīd* class of *Sāhāyaka* mentioned in the opening verse of Chapter 83, along with the *Sabāga* and *Paricāhanda* classes. Why the *representatives of the realm* should be called "friends" is not very clear. The political writers have a classification by which they divide the natural friends and natural enemies of kings. Probably the *Realm* representatives were considered as the king's 'friends,' for unlike an ambitious relative, they were naturally interested in upholding the king's cause.]

rather discredited, II. 100). Probably this is a reminiscence of the Vedic Parishad.

§ 309. There was an old grouping called 'the Eighteen Tirthas.' The Rāmāyana knows it (II. 100. "Tirthas" 36). The Artha-Śāstra of Kaṭilya mentions it and refers to the Tirthas as Mahā-Amātyas (pp 21, 22). They were heads of departments of both superior and inferior classes. They contained two offices of the royal household as well. The grouping was old and was fast becoming obsolete. The Mahā-Bhārata does not seem to mention it in its book on politics.

Tirthas are defined in a quotation given by Somadeva Sūri<sup>1</sup> as bodies of legal officers and officers in charge of executive works. It seems certain that Tirtha meant the holder of a department, as all the Tirthas mentioned in the Artha-Śāstra are in charge of departments. Tirtha literally means 'a ford to pass through' i.e. a passage. Ministers and heads of departments acquired this name probably because orders passed through them to their respective departments. The Tirtha classification throws light on the significance of the technical officers. They were :—<sup>2</sup>

- (1) The *Mantrin*.
- (2) The *Purohita*.
- (3) The *Senāpati*, the Minister for the Army (see *Nāyaka*, below No. 11).
- (4) The *Yuvārāja*.
- (5) The *Dauvārīka* or the Lord Mayor of the Palace.
- (6) The *Antarvamsika* or the Lord Chamberlain.
- (7) The *Prasāstri*, evidently the Chief Prasāstri, as there were more than one such officers. According to the enumeration of Govindarāja, he was the minister in charge of Prisons.

<sup>1</sup> *Nīṭyakāyaṇṭha*, Chapter II. अनेकमन्त्रिणः, कार्यसमन्वयिनश्च पुरोहाः, लोकेन ।

<sup>2</sup> *Artha-Śāstra*, Bk I. Ch. 12; 8 (pp. 20-21). Cf. also Bk. V., ch. 2; 21 (p. 245).

- (8) The *Samāhartṛi* or the Minister of Revenue.
- (9) The *Sannidhātṛi* or the Minister of Treasury.
- (10) The *Pradeśhṛi* whose functions are not clearly known
- (11) The *Nāyaka* or the Generalissimo.
- (12) The *Paura* or the Governor of the Capital
- (13) *Vyāvahārika* (lit., 'Judge') or the Chief Justice, according to Govindarāja.
- (14) The *Kārmāntika* or the Officer in charge of Mines and Manufactories.
- (15) The *Mantri-Parishat-adhyakṣha* or the President of the Council, *Sabha* according to Govindarāja.
- (16) The *Dandapāla* or the Officer in charge of the maintenance of the Army
- (17) The *Durgapāla* or the Officer in charge of Home Defences.
- (18) The *Antapāla* or Rāṣṭrāntapāla, i.e., the Officer in charge of Frontiers (Artha-Śāstra, p. 245)

This list makes it clear that *Senāpati* here is not the military Commander-in-Chief but the Minister of War. The military leader was the *Nāyaka*. The Lord Chief Justice is called the Judge instead of the *Pradhivāka* of later times. The President of the Mantri-Parishad is the *Pradhāna* of the Śukranīti. He received an allowance from the Civil List (Artha-Śāstra, p. 245). Govindarāja commenting on the "the 18 Tīrthas," Rāmāyana, II 100. 36, quotes from an unnamed work on *Niti-śāstra* and gives a few different designations in later terminology. In the place of *Prasāstri* which is obscure in the pages of the Artha-Śāstra, he gives *Kāragāra-adhikṛit* which elucidates the former. It should be translated as Inspector General of Prisons (lit., 'Corrector of

Convicts').<sup>1</sup> Against the ūrthas nos. 8 and 9 of the Artha-Śāstra, Govinda-rāja gives *Artha-saṅkhyā-kṛit* or the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The *Pradeshtri* who in the Civil List (Artha-Śāstra, p. 245) does not occupy a place amongst the *Amātyas*, appears as *Kārya-niyojaka* in Govinda-rāja and is explained as the Despatcher or Director of Royal Orders (राजाज्ञायाः वहिः प्रचारकर्त्ता). Instead of *Vyācāhārika* Govinda-rāja has the younger term *Prāḍevāka* [the Pāli Canon knows only *Vohārika*]. The *Nāyaka* who appears in the Artha-Śāstra as the Highest Military Commander is represented by *Senā-nāyaka* and the *Paura* by *Nagarādhyaksha*. The *Mantri-Parishat-adhyaksha* corresponds to *Sabhyā* (whom Govindarāja incorrectly connects with the building *Sabhā*). Govindarāja's authority has a new officer *Dharmādhyaksha* who is, I think, identical with *Paṇḍita amātya* of the Śukra-nīti. The order in Govindarāja is slightly altered after no. 8 of our Artha Śāstra list.

§ 310. The Ministers were divided in three classes according to the Pāli Canon, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Śukranīti. In the Rāmāyaṇa they are called the Superior, the Intermediaries and the Inferior. The Śukranīti has the same division<sup>2</sup>.

§ 311. The Artha-Śāstra divides the eighteen ūrthas into three classes in the Civil List and king's salary, which fixes the salaries of the permanent officers from the King down to the Historiographer and the Ministerial Establishments. The King's salary according to *Apastamba* should not exceed that of the "Amātyas and the *Gurus* (religious Preceptors)"<sup>3</sup>. This provision

<sup>1</sup> The interpretations given by Mr. Shama Sestry are mostly wide off the mark. See his *Tantra*, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Āyodhyakanda*, c. 100. 25-26. सुप्र, मज्झम निकाय । *Sūtrantīti* ch. II. 109-110.

<sup>3</sup> *Apastamba*, *Dharmasūtra* II. 3. 25. 10.

अपस्तम्बोऽपि नास्ति ।

becomes clear in the light of the *Artha-Sāstra* Civil List. Kaṭīlya says that the King is to get three times the salary of the officers of his equal acquirement (*samāna-vidya*).<sup>1</sup> We may regard the Prime-Minister and the *Senāpati* as *Samānavidya* to the king. The religious chiefs who are placed at the head of the first class of the Civil List are *Ritvik* and *Āchārya*. These two with the *Purohita* are the *Gurus* of *Āpastamba*. The salaries of these three put together, or the three highest ministers namely, *Mantrin*, *Senāpati* and *Yuvarāja* of Kaṭīlya's list, should not be exceeded, in the language of *Āpastamba*, by that of the king. In other words, the two provisions are identical. Now the salary of the 'Gurus' and 'Amātyas' was 48,000—(silver) *paṇas* a year each.<sup>2</sup> The same salary is allowed to the mother of the King and the consecrated Queen.

The second class of ministers in which occur ministers numbered 5 to 9 of our list were given 24,000 a year. The third class carried the salary of 12,000 a year. The members in this class are those numbered 11 to 18 in our above list. In this class are placed the *Kumāras* and their mothers

<sup>1</sup> *Artha-Sāstra*, Bk. V. ch. 3 : 91 (p. 246).

समानविद्येभ्यस्त्रयस्त्रयं तस्य राजा ।

<sup>2</sup> The king's salary has been completely missed in the translation of the *Artha-Sāstra* by Mr. Shamra Sastry.

## CHAPTER XXXI

### Council of Ministers (*contd.*)

#### Government

§ 311. The duty of the Ministry is summed up in these terms: "If the State, the People, the Strength, the Exchequer, and lastly Proper Monarchism (*su-nripativam*) do not grow, or the Enemy is not broken through the policy of the ministry, the ministers do not justify their existence (lit., 'of what use are they?')."<sup>1</sup>

In connection with 'Proper Monarchism' I would quote the principle from the same authority which is embodied in the preceding verses. "The Monarch is not controlled, therefore ministers have to be." "For," says the Niti in the next verse, "if the king could not be kept in check by ministers, is national prosperity possible by such ministers?" In the latter case they would cease to be real ministers and would be no better than ornaments.<sup>2</sup> The *Su-nripativa* or 'proper monarchy,' therefore, is a 'controlled monarchy'.

The minister is the *Rāja-rāshhṭra-bhṛt*<sup>3</sup> or 'the bearer of the responsibility of the king and the state.' The king was consequently bound, as observed already, to follow the dictates of the Council, otherwise in the eye of the constitutional law he

<sup>1</sup> *Sūtra-sūtrikā*, II 83.

राज्यं यथा बलं कोत्रः सुदृढम् च बलितम् ।  
समस्तकीदृशमाज्जलैर्निमित्तैः किं प्रदीयतम् ॥

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 81, 82

दीपनं न प्रवेष्टमादाहते क्षुः सुमन्विताः ॥  
न विनैति सुखे वैभवंसौभाग्यं राज्यवर्धनम् ।  
समाजद्वारकमायीः निवर्तौ स्यात्समा हि ते ॥

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 74.

would cease to be the king.<sup>1</sup> As the Mahā-Bhārata put it, he was always under the control of others (Ministers).<sup>2</sup>

§ 312. We have seen that extraordinary business was decided, according to the Arthaśāstra, in a full meeting of the Council. This implies that ordinary business went through only ministerial offices. That would have required written notes. There is evidence that written notes as a matter of fact were used. Aśoka in his inscriptions speaks of his oral orders<sup>3</sup> which implies that the orders were generally written orders. The Arthaśāstra also says that the ministers who were not in attendance wrote notes for the King.<sup>4</sup> We have not yet discovered any document which passed through the offices of the ministers. There is, however, on the point a very valuable piece of detail furnished by the Sukranīti. The detail evidently belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era as the official designation *Dāta*, which is superseded in later (Gupta) times by *Sāndhi-Vigrahika*, indicates. It is highly important from the constitutional point of view. The procedure it depicts of a matter going through the offices and then reaching the king and becoming a resolution of the ministry, is as follows:

Without a written document no business of state was done. A matter was considered first by the Home Minister, the Lord Chief Justice, the Minister of Law, and the Minister of Diplomacy with the fixed style '*This is not opposed to us*', i.e., their departments had no objection. The Minister of Revenue and Agriculture endorsed with the remark '*The note is all right*,' the Minister of Finance '*Well considered*'; then the President of the Council inscribed in his own hand '*Really proper*'. Next, the Pratinidhi wrote '*Fit to be accepted*', the Yuvarāja following, with

<sup>1</sup> Quotation in Nīlakanṭha's *Smṛiti*, X—इ राजसूरी राजा की मन्त्रिपरिषद्द्वारा वर्तते ।

<sup>2</sup> Śānti (Kumb.) ch. 325, 139-140, परमेशः सदा राजा .. मन्त्रि-विषययोगे, न कुतो राज्ञः अस्वतन्त्रः... इति आभासवदिति कुतश्चैव समाख्या ॥

<sup>3</sup> Rock Series VI. ॥ दि वा किं कृण्वते आनयामि एवं दाम्पत्यं वा स्यात्वं वा etc. (Kali).

<sup>4</sup> Arthaśāstra, Bk. I. ch. 13 : 11 (p. 29), अनासने अथ वसन्तेदिनेन सज्जितः ।

'Should be accepted' in his own hand. The Ecclesiastical Minister endorsed 'This is agreeable to me'. Every minister affixed his seal at the end of his note. Finally the King wrote 'Accepted' and set his seal. He was supposed to be unable to go through the document carefully and the Yuvarāja or some one else was to make this endorsement for him which was shown to him. After this first stage was over, the minute was signed by all the ministers as the Council (*gana*) and sealed with the seal of the council. Finally it was once more presented to the king who 'without delay' wrote 'Seen' as he had not the 'capacity' to criticise it.<sup>1</sup>

§ 313. The incapacity referred to here was the constitutional incapacity. We have already seen that the king had no option to veto a measure decided by the majority of the council (*Arthasāstra*). In an ordinary matter for which the king did not call a general Council and which went through the Ministry only, when it had been discussed and finally signed and sealed as a resolution by the Ministry as Council it really became a resolution of the Council and the King was truly, as the *Sukranīti* says, *akshama* or incapable of criticising it. The first submission to the king from the ministers in their individual capacity seems to be an opportunity given to the king to discuss the matter and to make his suggestions.

King's 'incapacity' to criticise resolutions of the cabinet

<sup>1</sup> *Subramaniam*, II, 302-309.

सिवाह्वये कथादि इति विष्णु विष्णु ॥ ॥  
समी ॥ प्राप्तिप्राप्त्य पश्चिमी इति ॥ ॥  
आविष्टं विष्णुविष्टं विष्णुः प्रथमं निवे ॥ ॥ ॥  
अनादः आधु विष्णुमन्त्रं कथाविष्णुम् ॥  
अनादित्वाविष्टं विष्णुः विष्णुः ॥ ॥ ॥  
अनादित्वाविष्टं विष्णुः विष्णुः ॥ ॥ ॥  
अनादित्वाविष्टं विष्णुः विष्णुः ॥ ॥ ॥  
अनादित्वाविष्टं विष्णुः विष्णुः ॥ ॥ ॥  
अनादित्वाविष्टं विष्णुः विष्णुः ॥ ॥ ॥  
अनादित्वाविष्टं विष्णुः विष्णुः ॥ ॥ ॥  
अनादित्वाविष्टं विष्णुः विष्णुः ॥ ॥ ॥

§ 314. The document became the resolution of the state with the fiat of the king. And in the eye of the constitutional law that document became 'the king'. To quote the language of the *Sukraniti*:<sup>1</sup> "The document signed and sealed by the king is *the* king and not the king himself." The officers could not obey any unwritten 'order' of the king. For the signed and sealed order of the king, which as a matter of fact was an order of the Council, being the real king, any one who obeyed an actual order of the king in flesh and blood was regarded in the eye of the constitutional law as obeying an outsider, or, in the language of the *Sukraniti*, a 'thief': obeying an outsider or 'thief':

"A king or an officer who orders or does a business of State without a *lekhyā* (official document) are both thieves 'at all times'."

§ 315. As a written *lekhyā* became really the order of the Ministry on account of the routine, a king who wanted his personal orders to be observed must take recourse to oral commands and requests. And when an oral command was issued, according to the constitution implied here, the officers had to deal with the command of a 'thief'

कार्यसंज्ञाकृतसामान्यदुष्टं न कथ्यते ।

पुराणवादिभिर्लेख्यं तदनेन च दर्शितम् ॥ ३१८

समुद्रं विनिक्षिपुर्वै सर्वे प्रक्षिप्तमालिनः ।

राजा इदमिति दिक्षिद्वाङ्मन्त्रं सप्तदर्शनवाक्यम् ॥ ३१९

The set endorsements are all in Sanskrit. This implies that the procedure belongs to the period of the Sanskrit revival which is now to be dated in the light of the history of the Śunga revolution between 150 B.C. and 100 A.C. (JHORS., IV, pp. 257—66).

The *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 404 and 429) also uses the word *gana* to denote the cabinet or council of ministers (*mantriya-gana*).

<sup>1</sup> *Sukranitiśāstra*, II, 292,

द्वन्द्वोवाक्यत इत्यत्र पुराणवादिना ॥ ३१८ ॥

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* : 291,

अनेनैवावाक्यवदिति अनेनैव वाक्यवदिति वा ।

राज्यसमूहो वासी लो अन्तर्गतो नदा ॥

in law, and to the anointed king in flesh and blood trouble was a certain consequence. We have, thanks to the inscriptions of Aśoka, an immortal evidence of this trouble. Aśoka issued orders regarding his proclamations and sermons (*Sāvakaṃ*) and gifts (*dāpakaṃ*), and the 'Paṭisā' (Council) discussed the 'orders' and 'shelved' them. The angry monarch orders that he should be informed when his oral orders are rejected.<sup>1</sup>

§ 316. The essence of the constitution as sketched in the *Megasthenes on Ministry's* jurisdiction Śukranīti is that the king had actually no power in his own and sole hand. All administrative functions were vested in the Council.<sup>2</sup>

The account of India left by Megasthenes are to be gleaned from fragments. The fragments as we find them indicate that the actual government did vest in the Cabinet or Council, that the Council was very much respected, and that it had a high character and tradition of wisdom behind it. It deliberated on public affairs and it 'chose' and appointed governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy governors, superintendents (or 'adhyakshas') of treasury, generals of the army and admirals of the navy, and high officers to superintend agriculture.

(a) "The seventh caste consists of the *Councillors* and *Assessors*—of those who deliberate on public affairs. It is the smallest class looking to number, but the most respected, on account of the high character and wisdom of its members."<sup>3</sup>

(b) "The seventh class consists of the *Councillors* and *Assessors* of the king. To them belong the highest posts of Government, the tribunals of justice, and the general administration of public affairs."<sup>4</sup>

(c) "In point of numbers this is a small class, but it is distinguished by superior wisdom and justice, and

<sup>1</sup> *I.A.*, 1913, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> This is supported by the *M. B.*, cited in § 311.

<sup>3</sup> *Epitome of Megasthenes*, Diodorus, II. 41; *Mc Crindle, Megasthenes*, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> *Strabo*, XV. 48; *Mc Crindle, Megasthenes*, p. 43.

"hence enjoys the prerogative of choosing governors,  
"chiefs of provinces, deputy governors, superintendents of the  
"treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers  
"and commissioners who superintend agriculture,"<sup>1</sup>

§ 317. This description of the constitutional powers has the direct support in home records. Bhāradvāja, a famous authority on Hindu Politics quoted both in the Mahā-Bhārata and in Kaṭilya's Artha-Sāstra, sums up the jurisdiction of ministers in these words :

“Between degeneration of the king and the degeneration of the ministers, that of the ministers is more serious. (1) Deliberation on the policy of state (*mantra*), (2) realization of the result of that policy, (3) execution of business, (4) the business concerning income and Expenditure, (5) army and (6) its leading, (7) providing against enemy and wild tribes (*apāṇī*), (8) maintenance of government, (9) providing against (national) degeneration, (10) protection of the princes and their consecration to offices are vested in the Ministers.”

(1) Policy or *mantra* of Bhāradvāja corresponds to the 'deliberation on public affairs' of Megasthenes, (2), (3) and (8) of Bhāradvāja correspond to the 'general administration of public affairs' of Megasthenes, (5), (6) and (7) to 'choosing generals, and admirals' of Megasthenes, (11) to Megasthenes' 'choosing governors, chiefs of provinces', and (4) to 'choosing superintendents of the treasury' and controllers of agriculture.

<sup>2</sup> Arring. XII: Ma. Orellillo. *Megasthotes*, p. 212.

२ क्षात्राण्यन्वयव्यवहारमायव्यवहारः प्रतीयते इति : क्षत्राण्यन्वयव्यवहारः क्षत्राण्यन्वयव्यवहारः  
 व्यवहारव्यवहारमिहाहोतिप्रतिपत्तिः । व्यवहारः व्यवहारः व्यवहारः व्यवहारः व्यवहारः व्यवहारः व्यवहारः व्यवहारः व्यवहारः व्यवहारः  
 व्यवहारव्यवहारः । Quotation in Kautilya, VIII. I. 122, p. 220. This jurisdiction is not  
 controverted by Kautilya who says that as the 'Board of Ministers' and the Departments  
 are designed by the king, and he stops degeneration in them, that the king is more  
 important. Mr. Shama Sastry has missed the meaning of *Adipati*. Its technical meaning as in  
 law-books is given here (see § 323).

The 'Assessors' are either the 'Tirthas' or the junior ministers (§§ 309-10), while councillors are the members of the Mantri-Council.

Thus the jurisdiction of the Ministry or Council is known. The constitutional law noticed above is borne out by that defined jurisdiction.

§ 318. Under such a constitution if a king had despotic tendencies the result would be a revolution: either the king would be made to mend his method or the constitution would be subverted and the ministers (council) put in prison or assigned to the executioner. But the ministers had the Paura and the Jānapada behind them and the law and tradition of the country to support them<sup>1</sup>. Hindu institutions did not easily change, and constitutional laws once established and made sacred by the Śāstras could not be deviated from with impunity. We have the recorded instance of the pious despotism developed by Aśoka, and what was the result? Was the Ministry overthrown and the constitutional laws set at naught? Or was the despot deprived, if not of his throne, of his sovereignty? There is the combined evidence of Aśoka's inscription and the Divyāvadāna, both of which are adverse statements against interest and therefore entitled to perfect credence.

As the inscription referred to is one of the most important documents of the constitutional history of Hindu India I propose to give it here in extenso, omitting the last lines which are not relevant. It has remained a puzzle and an object of whimsical treatment to the translators of Aśoka's inscriptions, who never thought for once that there could be anything else but religious matter in the 'Edicts' of Aśoka. If no violence is done to the natural sense of the words the meaning is clear. Early interpreters (to whom India must be thankful for the first interpretations of Aśoka's proclamations) have grasped the letter,

<sup>1</sup> On the power of the people to depose a king and set up another in his place see *M. Bh., Aśoka*, IV, 6-11.

not the spirit, of the Proclamation<sup>1</sup> under discussion, viz., that Aśoka made the officers called Rājūkas 'independent.' But the circumstances under which the independence in question was granted, and its nature, have been missed. The text is as follows :

देवानं पिये पियदसि आज्ञां ह्वेन आह्वानं सङ्ख्यौसतिवस  
अभिमतिन मे इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता लज्जुका मे  
वज्जसु पानसतसहस्रेण जनसि प्रायता तसं ये अभिहाले वा  
दंडे वा अतपतिये मे कटे किं ति लज्जुका अस्सय्य अमोता  
कमानि पवतयेव् जनस जानपदसा हितसुखं उपदहेव्  
अनुगहिनेव वा सुखीयन दुखीयनम् जानिसंति धम्मसुतेन च  
वियोजदिसंति जने जानपदं किंति हिदंतं च पालतं च  
आन्नाधयेव् ति लज्जुका पि अस्सति पटिचलितवे  
मं पुल्लिसानि पि मे ऊदंनानि पटिचलिसंति ते पि  
चकानि वियोजदिसंति येन मं लज्जुका  
अस्सति आन्नाधयितवे अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिज्जितु  
अस्सवे होति वियतधाति अस्सति मे पजं सुखं पल्लिहटवेति  
ह्वेन ममा लज्जुका कटा जानपदस हितसुखाये येन एते अमोता  
अस्सय्य संतं अविमना कमानि पवतयेव् ति एतेन मे लज्जुकानं  
अमोहाले च दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे इहितविये हि एसा किति  
वियोजान्नसमता च सिध्दं डडसमता वा अथ इते पि च मे आहुति<sup>2</sup>

It means :

" 'Devānāmpriya [His Fortunate Majesty] King Priyadarśin [another name of Aśoka] thus says : ['thus says'—a style in royal documents to denote 'Proclamations' Artha-Śāstra, p. 71 ] :—

"In the year twenty-six (elapsed) of my coronation this document of law was caused by me to be recorded [or 'dictated by me']:

<sup>1</sup> Pillar Proclamations IV, (Delhi—Sivalah) : cf. Divyāve., p. 430.

<sup>2</sup> The *śloka* is :

अथनमस्सामं सुनिषाणं तीजितटं वामं पतवधायं तंति दिवसाणि मे वीजे दिने नासिका च कानि  
निष्पदिसंति जीविताये ताजं भासेतं च निष्पदितवे वामं दाहंति पापतिनं अथवा मे च कथंति इवा पि मे सुखं  
निष्पदिसि पि नासकि पाकं आन्नाधयेव् ति जनस च वदति विविधे धम्मसुतेन अस्सवे धम्मविज्जायेति ।  
Maithe version, XI., II. 233.

"The Rājūkas' of mine have jurisdiction over the People who are numerous (hundreds of thousands). Those Rājūkas who are either over [the departments] of Abhihāra [War] or Daṇḍa [Home Administration] are made [declared] by me to be Protectors by themselves ['of sovereign jurisdiction,' *ātmapatiye*]. Why so? So that the Rājūkas without agitation and with peace of mind [i.e. without apprehension] may carry on the business, may render themselves agreeable and satisfactory to the Body Jānapada and may grant them anugrahas.

"They will know the satisfied as well as those who are in difficulty and distress. They will also get the Body Jānapada advised by the Ecclesiastical Service. Thereby they (the Rājūkas) may secure this world and the world beyond.

"And the Rājūkas disregard (*laghanti*=*laughanti*) my proclamations, while my (own) subordinate officers [*purushas*, Cf. *Artha-Sāstra*, p. 245] will promulgate my opinion and orders [*chhandam anāni*: Cf. *āpām*, Jātaka 1.398]. And they [Rājūkas] will advise the Provinces [*Chakām*]<sup>1</sup> which wish to serve the Rājūkas, not me.<sup>2</sup> Therefore let me indeed, consign the (Child) Subject [*Pajam*, a pun on the word] to the *vigatā* Nurse [a pun on the word, 'anxious' 'exerting' 'with open arms', and 'separating herself', i.e., from me]. The 'anxious Nurse becomes tranquil; she wants to defend well my Prājā [pun on *sukham palihapave*, 'comfortably to snatch away my Child'].

"In this manner my Rājūkas have acted for the satisfaction and good of the Jānapada.

<sup>1</sup> See § 304.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler, (See *Idam*, in the sense of 'some men.' The corrected reading is indicated by Prof. Rāmavarma Sarmā, (*Pigulari-prakāśa*), p. 33).

<sup>3</sup> *वैश्वं सर्वं यत्किं चास्मिन्ममैव*. (Mathia). Former reading: *वैश्वं सर्वं* etc. The last word has been taken as *lejūhā*. The Mathia plate (*R.I.*, II p. 250) suggests an *anuseṇā*. Without the *anuseṇā* the meaning would be slightly changed: "and they will advise the provinces, they the Rājūkas who do not wish to serve me."

"So that they may with peace of mind, without agitation and without any feeling of hostility (*avimand*) carry on business, I do make hereby my Rājūkas independent in War and Peace administrations.

"This indeed I desire, *viz.* : that the sameness of civil and criminal justice should remain. And though fallen from position (*avañte=ava-pita*<sup>1</sup>) my prayer<sup>2</sup> is that (*etc.*). ."

The rule for the maintenance of which the emperor prays is about allowing religious service to prisoners under sentence of death. It is significant that the king now 'prays' and does not 'command' as in other documents. In the next regnal year, probably a few months after signing this document, the king composed a retrospect of his reign up to the year of signing the Rājūka decree. Evidently he then regarded the period of his rule as a past chapter and as distinct from the period of mere reign thereafter.

The passages in the Divyāvadāna we have already seen. They clearly say that the Ministers including the Yuvarāja deprived the Maurya Emperor of his authority.

The *Jānapada*, as distinct from the *Prajā* and *loka* 'the people' (as in Pillar proclamations IV and VII), are mentioned, and it was for their benefit that the Rājūkas wanted independence. The *Jānapada* evidently supported the ministers. The Buddhist monks might well cry at the fate that deprived the Emperor of India of his *aiśvarya* or sovereign authority. But they do not, as they could not, call the Ministers sinful for that. The Emperor bowed to the authority of the laws of his country. The politicians under the leadership of the polite but firm Rādha-gupta<sup>3</sup> and the Pauras according to the Divyāvadāna, listened to the sarcasms of the Emperor—a feature in the Emperor's language even in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the same formation in the *Tājjanayā Sāghinā*. Bühler, in utter disregard of philology, renders as 'even so far' (goss my order)!

<sup>2</sup> *Arjiti* in this sense occurs in the Vedic as well as later literature, Monier-Williams, *Dict.*, 1899, p. 120, a—*arj*.

<sup>3</sup> Probably a descendant of Vishnu-gupta (*Kauṭilya*).

inscription—and they let the otherwise great Emperor continue in the enjoyment of his throne and title and preach his 'sublime nonsense.' But the political writers do not seem to have let the license of monkish professions pass unnoticed. 'The dharma of the king indeed is the suppression of the evil and the rearing-up of the good and not the shaving of the head [becoming a Buddhist monk] or the growing of matted hair.'<sup>1</sup>

§ 319. Before we close this brief survey of Hindu Junior minis- Ministry let us note a few more details ters or under- secretaries about their composition. (Each minister had two junior ministers or Under-Secretaries.<sup>2</sup> The chief of the three was distinguished by the title *Mahā-mātra*, 'Of great measure')

In the inscriptions of the Gupta period the same offices are distinguished by *Mahā*-and *Kumāra*-, e.g. *Daṇḍanāyaka*, *Mahā-Daṇḍanāyaka*, and *Daṇḍanāyaka-kumārāmātya*. The simple *Daṇḍanāyaka* would be one of the two junior ministers to the *Mahā-Daṇḍanāyaka*, and the *Kumārāmātya*—(the 'young-minister') *Daṇḍanāyaka* would be the juniormost. The second minister might have been called *Mahā-Kumārāmātya* i.e., the senior under-secretary. This interpretation may be also considered with reference to various designations of the classes in the inscriptions of the Gupta times where *Mahā-Pradhāna*, *Mahā-Sāndhi-vigrahika*, *Mahā-Daṇḍa-nāyaka*, etc., figure.<sup>3</sup>

§ 320. The ministers were transferred from one portfolio to another.<sup>4</sup> The transfers were made every three years, or after every five,

<sup>1</sup> 'राजो हि दुष्टनिवृत्तः निजपरिग्रहसर्वं धर्मी न दुष्टः शिष्टेनृपस्य सदाचारकं वा ।—  
Quotation in *Nīlādhikārikā*, ch. V.

<sup>2</sup> *Sukranitīśāra*, II. 109—110.

एकस्मिन्नधिकारे तु प्रत्येकं वर्षं सदा ।

नितुच्छोऽप्येकस्मिन्मुष्कमिच्छं तु तेषु द्वे ॥

यो दसैको तु सप्तवारं

<sup>3</sup> See Florent., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. *Parsim.*  
Cl. SNS., II. 111-113.

<sup>4</sup> *Sukranitīśāra*, II. 107-113.

परिवर्त्तं ततो सौभाग्यसाधनोत्पन्नमिति ।

seven or ten years.<sup>1</sup> For "authority should not be given in one's hand for a long time. A capable minister should be put in charge of another work [department], and a new competent man should step into his shoes." The rules of three-yearly transfer and of five-yearly transfer are referred to as 'dharma' or law by Aśoka in his inscriptions at Dhauī and Jaugada (Separate Proclamations). The whole Council (*varga*) of Ministers (*mahāmātras*) went out or rather were 'made to go out', to quote the language of the Emperor, every three or five years. The process is officially called *anusamyāna*, that is, 'regular departure' which may be compared with the word *anagata* in the above quotation from the Śukranīti and with *anusamyāntu* in the Rāmāyaṇa.<sup>2</sup> In the Rāmāyaṇa it comes in connection with the 'going out' of guards to the passes on the route which Bharata was shortly to use.

§ 321. As in other matters, e.g. in the coronation, so in the exercise of the executive power each of the four divisions of the Hindu society was represented. The coronation details given by Nīlakaṇṭha and Mitra Miśra show that ministers were taken from all the varṇas up to the last days of Hindu régime. The Mahā-Bhārata gives a list of thirty-seven Ministers recruited on the principle of representation from each varṇa: Four Brahmins, eight Kshatriyas, twenty-one

माविहारं विरं दयापशोक्तो वदा दयः ।

यतः कावेचनं ददा कावेचनं नं विवीकते ।

सत्कार्यं कुर्वन् भानं सपदागुप्तं कुरु ॥

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

— दायमेसद्विषयं विदुः । विदितं पदविधिं विदितं विदितं विदितं ॥ १ ॥

<sup>2</sup> II. 70. 13; Kanak, A 8 I, 1913-14, p. 113;

यमे वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् रामो राजा भविष्यति । १२

विदितं विदितं विदितं विदितं विदितं विदितं ॥ १३ ॥

रविचन्द्रावतारं पति दुर्द्विषयः ॥

<sup>3</sup> Let the guards go out (after the *śilpīn*) who know the passes on the way.

Vaiśyas and three Śūdras, and finally one Śūta who was of the mixed caste. The remarkable point is that the largest class (Vaiśya) had the largest number in the Ministry. The Śūdra and the Brahmin are almost equally divided. The real ministry, as it says, was composed of eight members only.<sup>1</sup>

§ 322. The designations of the ministers in Gupta times changed. We have already seen the *Sāndhigrahika* superseding the old term *Dāta*. This was evidently necessary to avoid confusion and distinguish the *Minister of Diplomacy* from the *Ambassador*. We do not find *Mantrin* used in the inscriptions of the period. Here again a desire to use an unambiguous expression seems to have operated. For, the minister *Danḍanāyaka* or rather *Mahā-Danḍanāyaka* appears to have taken its place. In Manu (XI. 100), *Danḍanetriva* is distinguished from *Senāpatya* and means the leadership of the administration, which in view of Manu's definition of *Amātya*'s jurisdiction (*amātye danḍa āyattaḥ*-Manu, VII. 56) means the authority of the Prime-Minister. *Mahā-Danḍanāyaka*, therefore, 'vested with the leadership of danḍa (or administration)', would signify the minister in charge of administration or the Prime-Minister. This appears to be the more natural interpretation as against the one given by Fleet i.e., 'the leader of the forces' (*C.I.I.*, III. p. 16. n.), for the ministers who bear that title in the inscriptions were civilian officers as proved by their other titles. Further, in that period the military minister seems to be designated *Balādhikṛit* (*Ibid.*, p. 210) and *Mahā-Balādhikṛit* (p. 109).

The rule of transfer noticed above is illustrated by the occurrence of the ministerial designations in the documents of the period. Harishena, who, as the great inscription of Samudra-Gupta says (Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III. 10), was closely associated with the Emperor and who is described to have gained inspiration for his *Kāvya* from that association, was *Mahā-Danḍanāyaka*.

<sup>1</sup> *MEA*, Kumbh. Samī, ch. 83, 7-11.

He had been a Junior Minister of Diplomacy before. But at the time the Kāvya of Harishena was actually inscribed he was no more Mahā-Daṇḍanīyaka. At that time the office was held by another learned gentleman, Tila-Bhaṭṭaka. Past ministers were allowed the courtesy of the employment of their late official designations in official documents, e.g., the father of Harishena who had been Mahā-Daṇḍanīyaka in former times is mentioned with that designation in Samudra Gupta's record.

§ 323. Charters of grant made by kings in the Gupta period are countersigned by one of the ministers, <sup>Chartered countersigned by ministers</sup> the *Sāndhi-vigrahika*. According to Bṛhaspati a document of gift should obtain the endorsement *jñātamayā* or "noted by me" from the office of the *Sāndhi-vigrahika*. Bṛhaspati's law code was a work of the period and this provision is of importance. It shows that the charters which bear the name of that minister or his office were really noted by his department. This procedure throws light on the constitutional position of the ministers in that period. Even a humble gift had to be sanctioned by the ministry and it was sanctioned on their behalf by the *Sāndhi-vigrahika* who apparently had to consider whether the gift was right from the point of view of the foreign department. Donees might be outsiders come in the kingdom. They might be enemy spies; the foreign office, therefore, was the first authority to sanction or to reject the gift which would be passed as a matter of course by the other members of the government. The charters bear the countersignature of the officer or his assistant who passed it last. He is called *Dūta ka* or 'despatcher'. The copper plate grant made by king Hastin<sup>2</sup> in the year corresponding to 510 A.C. is first sanctioned by Mahā-Sāndhi-vigrahika Vidhūdatta and finally passed by the senior minister of army, Mahābalā-

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Pāramitodaya, p. 192.

ज्ञानं नयेति लिखितं सांख्यिकद्विजयैः ।

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.L.*, III. 108.

d h i k r i t , Nāgasūpha, who signs as the D ū t a k a . Another grant made by a contemporary of Hastin<sup>1</sup> is signed by a man who has no official title ; it is not countersigned by any minister and it is recorded to have been made on the oral order of the ruler. The charter has no *dūtaka* either. It is evident that the grant did not pass through the Council as there was no written order of the ruler. It might have been made from the private lands of the donor.

§ 324. It is a known fact that Ceylon had numerous institutions in common with India. In fact both had illustrations of the practice from Ceylon practically the same civilization, and from that point of view Ceylon was a part of India. A Ceylonese friend of mine has often told me that the history of India can never be complete without the history of Ceylon. It must be admitted that it is true. Here we have an illustration. In India while we lost our institutions under stress from outside and decay from within, they lived longer in the island girt by the great sea-moat. As late as the middle of the 10th century A.C. the orders issued by the king are orders of the Supreme Council or His Majesty-in-Council (*Sabha*). All the members of the Council sign the document. See for instance the record of king Abhāsalamēvan edited by my friend Mr. Wickramasinghe in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Volume II, p. 1, where the whole council conjointly makes the gift, the grant of privilege:

“Whereas it was decreed by His Majesty-in-Council, we, “all of us, namely, Manitā, Kiliyem and Gangulhuasu Agaboyim . . . and Kavasilangā Gavayim have conjointly with “due inaugural ceremonies (*abhishekadī*) granted (the following “immunities to the village Ittarugama in the district of . . . “ . . . ” (p. 5).

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

## CHAPTER XXXII

### Law and Administration of Justice

§ 325. Apart from the operation of the Coronation-Oath, the checks and limitations imposed by the King under the Law Panra-Jānapada and the Council, there was the all-powerful Law, (the Common Law of the Hindus, which is declared again and again to be above the king and as the king of kings). In Manu the king is made liable to be fined.<sup>1</sup> His powers and obligations are defined in the law-sūtras and law-books as part and parcel of the law (in chapters on Constitutional Law, the *Rājadharmā* or 'Laws for Kings'). Even in the palmiest days of Hindu Monarchy, neither in the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra nor in the Artha-śāstra, was the king placed above the law. He could make new laws according to the Artha-Śāstra,<sup>2</sup> according to Manu he could not do so; but when he could make laws he passed only regulatory laws<sup>3</sup> and not laws substantive or laws making him arbitrary.

The judges in Persia under Cambyses "found a law that the Persian king might do whatever he pleased."<sup>4</sup> But such a finding was impossible to be come to by Hindu judges and lawyers; so much so that even the author of the Artha-Śāstra tells his prince that destruction befalls an arbitrary king<sup>5</sup>.

§ 326. The administration of justice under Hindu monarchy Judiciary and remained always separate from the executive, Executive and generally independent in form separate and ever independent in spirit. The reason for this

<sup>1</sup> See the quotation in the *Vyavahārik Darpana*.

<sup>2</sup> "Where common man would be fined one Kāśhāpāna the king shall be fined one thousand; that is the settled law." VIII. 236.

आर्षोदणः सप्तह्वयो वनाशः सप्तसौ जयः ।

तत्र राजा सप्तह्वयः सप्तसन्निधि मारया ।

<sup>3</sup> *Arthashastra*, Bk. I, ch. 5; 3 (p. 11).

<sup>4</sup> Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, II, p. 468.

was that it was the lawyers who were appointed Judges, and lawyers as a rule were from amongst the Brahmins. It was in the classical period (1,000 B.C.—500 B.C.) while the Hindu king was putting or had put on a new garb, that the Brahmin transformed himself from the humble position of the 'Repeater of Songs' ('Brāhmaṇa') into a political estate. The priest-Brahmin became distinct from the Brahmin of politics and ordinary life. The two divisions are clear in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. At the coronation ceremony, as we have seen, after the consecration the priest as such does homage to the king, and the Brahmin as an estate of the Society does homage along with the Kshatriyas and others. The class which was midway between the priestly and the non-priestly Brahmins was of the Mahāsāla Brahmins (§ 282), the Brahmins of study and action. They mainly devoted their energies to sciences like *dharma*, law, politics and cognate subjects. In the Jātakas we have the Purohita politician and Brahmin ministers as embodiments of political wisdom and moral rectitude. To this class belonged the judges. Under the common law the culprit who had committed a crime was to be punished by the king. But under *dharma* law he was also to be punished for the sin implied in the crime.<sup>1</sup> The latter jurisdiction was relegated to the Brahmin. Not only that he was an expert in the matter, but also as Brahmin culprits were to be dealt with they were to be judged by one who was their equal and who could have no hesitation in punishing them in matters of *dharma* delinquency. The Brahmin for the *dharma* administration was thus absolutely necessary. We find this jurisdiction being exercised by the Purohita in the Jātakas. He at the same time heard and decided, sitting along with other officers (probably non-Brahmins), cases of secular law. (Law proper and law ecclesiastical in administration tended to unite into one and unite in the hand of the Brahmin judge.) And the Brahmin was fairly above the influence of the king.

<sup>1</sup> [This is discussed in my Tagore Lectures, X.]

§ 327. Then the law court bore the ancient Vedic name, the *Sabha*. As the Council of Ministers retained the traces of their independent origin so did the *Sabha*. The judges were always helped by the community in the administration of justice. They made up the *Sabha* and were, to quote a modern word, the jury of the court.

Their number was odd, to provide for voting (§ 109, I. p. 110, n.); and it was enjoined on them to speak according to law. A jury which kept its mouth shut or spoke what is not *Dharma*, was considered immoral.'

In the court-scene of the *Mricchhakatika*, which I regard as the product of the 3rd century A.C., the jury is mentioned.<sup>2</sup> The function of the jury we find defined in the *Sukra-Niti* as well as in *Bṛhaspati* and *Nārada*<sup>3</sup>; it deserves notice. There the jury is to be composed of 7, 5, or 3<sup>4</sup>, and they are defined as "the examiners of the cause," while the judge, their president, is the "speaker" and the king as carrying out the punishment. In the *Mricchhakatika* the judge says, 'We are authority in deciding the guilt or otherwise. The

<sup>1</sup> Nikāya, Intro. III, 15 (na aññāsi pāra na sātā vyādhā vyādhā na te ye na vānanti dharmā).

'Either the Judicial Assembly must not be entered at all, or a fair opinion delivered. That man who, either stands mute or delivers an opinion contrary to justice is shewn'.  
Nārada, Intro. III-10 (Gloss).

\* *Myricodendroideae*, Age IX.

विन्दामुक्ताभिमाद्यमन्त्रिसुविष्टे ।

\* *Śaṅkha* 1914, IV, 5, 26-27.

श्रीकवेदशर्मन्तः सन् पश्य तस्योऽपि वा ।  
 ह्योपविष्टा विद्या सः वा शत्रुसङ्घो मम ॥  
 नोऽहो नृपिअस्त्रवर्तमानाः सन्निवसताः ॥

See also *ibid.*, 14, 17.

यदा विद्यो न विद्यामयात् तर्हि न तव बोधयेत् ।  
 मेधां वा तमेवास्मत्तं गूढं दमेन वञ्चयेत् ॥  
 एतां निबोधित्वास्ते मयाः सर्वेऽहं साधितः ।

ब्रह्मसूत्रोक्तः सः राजा राजाः सर्वस्योक्तः १- १६६, ४०; Brihaspati in Pira-  
midology, p. 42. Cf. Nāṇda, Intro. II. 45. "One condemned by the Judges shall be  
punished "by the king according to law." "Justice is said to depend upon the Jury"  
Nāṇda, Intro. III. 6.

'rest is in the hands of the king'. It was the jury's separate province (*karma prokṭam prīthak prīthak*: Brīhaspati) to consider the truth or otherwise of the cause brought before the court. Thus even when justice was dispensed by royal judges there was a safeguard against the leanings of the judge.

§ 328. We have already seen that the king by himself was not allowed to hear cases.<sup>1</sup> He heard cases sitting in his Council which included the Chief Justice. These were cases which went on appeal to him as the highest court of appeal.<sup>2</sup> This is indicated by the authorities quoted below, and still more clearly by the case decided by King Yaśaskara noted in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī (Ch. VI). The appellant had lost his case in all the lower courts and now he appealed from the judgment of the Justices to King Yaśaskara. He heard it in Council along with the judges of the capital who had already heard the matter. The practice of the king hearing original cases must have been given up very early as there is scanty evidence showing that it was ever done in post-Vedic times.

As the king could not govern by himself personally, so he was not allowed to administer justice, as pointed out above, by himself. This was not only the opinion of the code-writers but also the opinion of the constitutional lawyers who prohibit the king to decide causes by himself.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'वर्षं चावदत्त ! विमर्शं कर्म समाचक्षुः । ईडे तु राजा ।' Aśv IX.

<sup>2</sup> Nārada, Intro. I. 35 'महिराजमने क्षितः'; Brīhaspati, I. 23, 'हयकाशस्ये क्षितः' (Śaṅgīti Chandrikā)

<sup>3</sup> Nārada, Intro. I. 7; Brīhaspati, I. 29; Yājñavalkya, II. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Śubrahmaṇya, IV. 5, 5-8.

धर्मशास्त्राविरुद्धं क्रोधकोपविचरितः ।

समादिशकः सामान्यः समाक्रान्तुरीहितः ।

समादिशमतिः यज्ञेषु वधारानुष्ठानम् ॥

नेत्रः यज्ञे च कार्ये चि वादिनोः दुःखदायकः ।

रक्षति च स्वयं यातः समादिशं समापनम् ॥

§ 329. In theory the king always presided over the court, whether he was present there or not.<sup>1</sup> The decrees given under the seal of the court was called a document given by the king.<sup>2</sup> When a man was summoned to attend the court it was supposed that the king called him. The language of the law-books invariably employs the word 'king' as doing all matters of legal execution, and the commentators explain that the 'king' there means only the officer.

§ 330. Records of cases decided were kept. Such records are mentioned as early as the Jātakas. *Vinischaya-pustaka* is mentioned in vol. III, p. 292. Even laws of procedure of a monarchy inscribed on gold tablets are referred to in vol. V, p. 125. That the records were kept in the time of the law books is evidenced by themselves.<sup>3</sup>

§ 331. According to the ideal which prevailed in the time of the Jātakas right administration of justice resulted in a fall of litigation.<sup>4</sup> Of course the same result would follow equally from an unjust administration. There is however no allusion to such a state of affairs. Constitutionally the latter was impossible in view of the legal sanction.<sup>5</sup>

§ 332. An incidental reference to actual administration of justice is found in the Pāli Canon. It throws a flood of light on the purity of justice, disclosing a real rule of law.

In the Vinaya Piṭaka, Chullavagga, VI. 4. 9, the case of the Anātha-Piṇḍika versus Jeta, the Prince Royal, which was decided by the Court of Śrāvastī, the then capital of Oudh, is related to show the great devotion of the Anātha-Piṇḍika to the Śākya Teacher and not to record any extraordinary judicial decision. Sudatta, who was generally called the Anātha-Piṇḍika ("Orphans'

<sup>1</sup> *Vivamitrodaka*, pp. 20-42; *Manu*, VIII. 1, 19.

<sup>2</sup> E. g., see *Vasishtha*, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Jātakas*, II. p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Manu*, VII. 28; *Bṛhaspati*, II. 29; cf. the revolution related in the *Mricchakatika*.

co-parcener"), on account of his kindness to orphans, was an ordinary citizen—a *grihapati*—a leading and rich merchant; Jeta was one of the princes of the blood. The latter had a garden "not too far from the town and not too near, convenient for going and coming . . . well-fitted for a retired life." The liberal Anātha-Piṇḍika thought of buying this garden for the use of the Buddha whom he had invited from Rājagṛha. He went to the Prince Jeta and said to him, "Your Highness, let me have your garden to make an Ārāma (rest-house) on it." "It is not, O gentleman, for sale, unless it is laid over with crores (of money pieces)." "I take, Your Highness, the garden (at this price)."

"No, gentleman, the garden has not been taken." "Then they asked the lords of justice whether the garden was bought (lit., taken) or not. And the lords decided thus: 'Your Highness fixed the price and the garden has been taken'."

On obtaining the decree while the Anāthā-Piṇḍika had a part of the garden covered with gold coins, the rest was relinquished by the Prince without further payment.

Here we have a Prince and a private citizen submitting their case to the law court and the court deciding against a Royal Prince, and the Prince accepting that decision,—all as a matter of course. The case attracted attention not for the principle of offer and acceptance, not as illustrating the independence

\* Text—Ch. VI, § 1, 4, 9.

उपद्रवश्रित्वा जेतुं कुमारं दत्तुं श्रीमन्महर्षिः । अथ पुनः लब्धवान् कारागोत्रं जातुम् । अहो  
नृपति कारागोत्रं अपि कोटिशतैरपि । नृपति कथं पुनः कारागोत्रं । न नृपति नृपति कारागोत्रं  
ति । नृपति न नृपति ति श्रीशक्तिः मन्त्रान् पुनर्लभः । मन्त्रान् एवम् आह्वयं दत्तौ तदा अथ पुनः  
अहो जेतुं नृपति कारागोत्रं ति ।

The above has been translated in the Sacred Books of the East, XX. pp. 187-188, by Maxm. Rhyds Darrils and Oldenberg as follows:—"He went to Jats the Kumhars, and said to him, 'Sir, let me have your garden to make an Arama on it.' 'It is not, sir, for sale, even for (a sum so great that the piece of money would be sufficient to cover it if they were) sold side by side.' 'I take, sir, the garden at the price.' 'No, O householder, there was no bargain meant. Then they asked the lords of justice whether a bargain of sale had been made or not. And the lords decided thus: 'The Arama is taken, sir, at the price which you fixed.'"

of the judges, but as observed above, on account of the devotion of the charitable citizen to the Teacher. The legal procedure is described as a mere occurrence of ordinary life. Hence the names of the Hindu Cascoignes have not been mentioned; they in the eyes of their contemporaries, did nothing extraordinary in giving that decision.

§ 332. The *Prāḍvivāka* acted in two official capacities.   
Ministers of Law and Justice He was the First ('Foremost') Judge and he was the Minister of Justice. We shall note below his functions as the Minister of Justice in comparison with the functions of the *Paṇḍita* Minister who was the Minister of law.

It is remarkable that the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Law took precedence over several of their civil colleagues. The premier position in the Council was occupied by the *Pratinidhi*. The *Prādhāna*, who was the President of the Council, came next. After them came the Minister of War or *Sachiva*, and the Foreign Minister or *Mantrin*, who were responsible for peace and war. Next in precedence were the Minister of Law and the Minister of Justice.

Firstly, as the Chief Justice, the *Prāḍvivāka* (lit., the First Judge) presided over the Supreme Court in the capital of the kingdom. Next, as the Minister of Justice he prescribed the law of procedure after ascertaining the opinion of the majority of a jury on the subject and then "advising" the King accordingly. It is thus described in the *Sūkaniti*:

'The *Prāḍvivāka* along with the members of the jury sitting in a meeting may ascertain by majority of opinion the procedure laws, instituted by himself and those come down: where human proof—by witnesses, documents, past and adverse enjoyment—was to be employed, and in which cases divine proof (oaths, ordeals) was to prevail, where interpretation was to be allowed, where a matter was to be proved by direct evidence (प्रत्यक्ष), where inference (अनुमान) and analogy (उपमान) were to be resorted to, where opinion of the

'community and where jurisprudence should be followed; and the *Prādevivāka* then (lit. 'having considered and ascertained these') shall always advise the King.'<sup>1</sup>

The Minister of Law, on the other hand, who is elsewhere called the *Dharmādhikārin*, is called the *Pandita* (the Learned Minister) in the *Sukraniti*, and his duties are thus defined :

'The *Pandita*, having considered what ancient and present laws are at present followed by the community, which of them are approved in the codes and which laws now offend against jurisprudence, and which of them are opposed to the community and jurisprudence, shall recommend to the King laws which secure happiness both here and hereafter.'<sup>2</sup>

This affords a glimpse into the Hindu method of legal reform. Hindu Law was normally considered traditional and as such could not, in theory, be altered by direct or avowed changes introduced by the State. The law was, however, occasionally altered by direct legislation<sup>3</sup> and more generally by interpretation, and also by new treatises fathered on ancient names, e.g., the *Nārada Smṛiti*. Over and above these there was the agency of the two law ministers. The ministers rejected such laws as having regard to the circumstances of the community and public weal were deemed undesirable to be put into operation. They also took into consideration the popular view with regard to the current laws. This method of legal pruning and regard for the popular opinion resulted in the modification of laws and in effect acted as new legislation. It may not be unlikely that the different treatises on Hindu Law differing from each other

<sup>1</sup> वाचिमिनिर्दिष्टैर्विचक्षेभैश्च साधयान् ।  
 क्षेमोपाविष्टकृद्वापि-ज्वरकारान् विचिन्वा च ॥  
 दिव्यसंज्ञाधनानि चैव त्रिं भाषन् वरम् ।  
 युक्तिमन्वातुमानोपमागैर्लोकमाजयत ॥  
 बहुकल्मषैर्विज्ञानं विनिश्चित्य समाजितः ।  
 कथंवा प्राद्विवाक्यं नृपं संवीचयेत् कदा ॥

*Sukraniti*, II. 96-98.

<sup>2</sup> वर्धमानाश्च मापीनः प्रज्वाः च लोकावहितः ।

<sup>3</sup> See App. D.

and modifying earlier laws might, after all, have been the works of Ministers of Law.

§ 333. The most pronounced feature of Hindu Polity was the *Sabhā* dominating position of Law throughout history. It was so when the law was administered by the communal *Sabhā* and it remained so when the law was administered by the royal *Sabhā*. The *Sabhā* had not the same history as the 'Court.' It was not an outcome of the King's household but of the Vedic folk-assembly. History was against a possibility of the *Sabhā* becoming the foot-stool of the throne. When it became the king's right and duty to maintain the administration of justice, he exercised it in accordance with the condition laid down and accepted through the Coronation Oath. He had to administer scrupulously the law of the country. Then, there was the Brahmin agency which always balanced and counterpoised the estate of sword and the estate of wealth. When undue interference was feared, it was laid down that the king must abide by the opinion of the *Prādvivāka*.<sup>1</sup>

मन्त्रे वृ के समुद्दिता विदधन्ते च वेदभूषा ॥

शोकमानविदधः के वक्षिस्तत्तान् विदधन्त च ।

इदं संविद्यते नैव परमे व सुखमदेः ॥

*Sukraniti*, II, 99, 100

<sup>1</sup> प्राद्विवक्तरी श्रुतिः—Nārada; see above Pt. II, p. 125. For details on the administration of justice the reader is referred to the author's *Tanaka Law Lectures*.

## CHAPTER XXXIII

### Taxation

§ 334. The Hindu theory of taxation is of immense importance from the constitutional point of view. Taxes had been fixed by Law and the scales had been embodied in the Sacred Common Law. The consequence was that whatever the form of government, the matter of taxation was not an object of the ruler's caprice. No friction could therefore legally arise between the Crown and the People on the question of taxation. The main source of friction and of oppression was thus guarded against.

That the constitutional law of taxation was a living law regulating life, is borne out by pieces of historical evidence. For instance, in the inscription of Queen Balaśrī of the Śātavāhana family, it is proclaimed that *her son levied taxes in accordance with the sacred law*. Other inscriptions point to the same conclusion.<sup>1</sup> Literature has some curious instances proving the inviolability of the taxes fixed by the law. Chandragupta the Great had to raise money, presumably for his intended war with Selenkos. He and his great Chancellor Kauṭilya were at their wit's end to collect a sufficient amount of money; the legal taxes were not productive enough for the purpose. They had to, as is evident from the Artha-Śāstra, take recourse to old methods, which demonstrate the majesty of the law on the one hand and the inconvenience of a rigid legal revenue on the other. Chandragupta asked his people to give

<sup>1</sup> Archaeological Survey Report of Western India, Vol. IV, p. 108.

Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 60. *सतीर्षमानसः सिद्धीं न वरेत्*—I, 5; p. 44. line 14.

Cf. also "That avaricious king, who foolishly oppresses his subjects by levying taxes not sanctioned by the Śāstras, is sold to wrong his own self."—*Mahā Bhārata*, Śānti, I, XXI, 15.

him money as a 'token of affection' (*Pranaya*). He also raised money from temples.<sup>1</sup> Patañjali writing under the reign of Pushymitra while commenting on Pāṇini, V. 3. 99., humorously remarked that the Mauryas who wanted gold raised it by instituting images of gods for worship.<sup>2</sup> In the Jaina tradition, Chāṇakya is alleged to have issued eight hundred million debased silver coins called *kārshāṇas* to fill the treasury. All these facts indicate a very great urgency, and at the same time a scrupulous respect for the letter of the law.

§ 335. The revenue raised by taxes was under the control of the Council of Ministers who were also vested with the power of collecting the revenue. As early as the fourth century B. C., as we find from Megasthenes (§ 316), the department of the Exchequer was under the Ministry, whose history does not begin there but goes back to the Vedic Ratnas and the Ratna Treasurer. The evidence of Bhāradvāja (§ 317) is also decisive and goes back beyond the fourth century B.C. The Ministry collected revenue and disbursed expenditure according to him.

§ 336. Apart from the question of amount and collection of taxes, the taxes themselves were regarded in Hindu politics as wages of the king for the service of administration:

Taxes as king's wages

अलिप्तं न दत्तं न दुर्लभावापदादिनाम् ।

राधानीति न लिप्ते वा वेतनेन दत्तमामम् ।

"The one-sixth *Bali* tax, import and export duties, fines "and forfeitures collected from offenders—gathered in accordance "with the *Sāstras* (law and constitution), as your wages "(*vetanena*), shall constitute your revenue."<sup>3</sup>

Nārada also ordains:

"Both the customary receipts of a king and what is called "the sixth of the produce of the soil, form the royal revenue, the "reward for the protection of his subjects".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Arthashastra*, pp. 245-2.

<sup>2</sup> *MBh.*, *Sānti P.*, LXXI, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Jayaswal, *JA*, 1918, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Nārada, XVII. 45 (Jolly).

The theory is as ancient as the Artha-Sāstra of Kauṭilya (300 B.C.), or we should say, it is anterior to 300 B.C. for it is quoted in the Artha-Sāstra. The taxes were regarded as the wages of the king, the wages which were fixed according to the theory mentioned above (§ 267) by the original contract between the first King and the People. The broker to that contract, according to the theory, was the Creator himself. It was He who recommended Manu to the People for election.

§ 337. The wage-theory was further developed by political scientists and turned into what we may call a *Divine theory of taxation*—*divine theory of taxation*. I cannot do better than quote that theory in the language of the scientist himself:

स्वमागमृत्वा दास्यत्वे प्रजानां च नृपः कृतः ।

ब्रह्मणा स्नामिरुपसृ पाप्मनावै हि सर्वदा ॥

"God has made the king, though master in form, the servant of the People, getting his wages (sustenance) in taxes for the purpose of continuous protection and growth."

In other words, the Master-Servant of the People has his wage or maintenance fixed by divine authority: he was not to take more, for he was not entitled to more. The Subject, really the Master, was bound to "protect" the king, as promised by the priest on his behalf at the coronation (§ 224) by giving him his lawful maintenance, his share (*Svabhāga*).

Here we have the arguments (§ 244) of the Mānava-dharma-Sāstra turned to yield a divine origin of king's servitude. Diamond cuts diamond. In the land of Uśanas and Bhāradvāja, a theory ascribing divine personality to kingship—a potential licence for autocracy—could never be tolerated. It was opposed to the trend of past history. Hence to cut 'Manu' the teacher of men, the Hindu sought out 'Śukra' the Teacher of Gods.

§ 338. The theory that the taxes were wages for protection

was so ingrained in the constitution that even partial failure of protection was deemed to entitle the subject to claim refund of wages in proportion to the loss. And those claims, as we have seen, had to be allowed either in the shape of concessions or actual payment (§ 281). The subject thought that the servant-king was not fulfilling his obligation. He thought that the compact was not fully kept and he threatened, as the *Artha-Sāstra* says (XIII. 1, p. 394), to migrate to the enemy country. In other words, the subject threatened to transfer allegiance. The *Mahā-Bhārata* says the same thing when it sanctions the abandonment of that king who fails to protect.<sup>1</sup> He is like a ship which leaks, that is, dangerous to remain with; and he is like the barber who wishes to go to the forest, evidently to become an ascetic. The barber has left his clientele and master, and broken his contract of service. He is fit to be given up and another barber is to be appointed to the household. Similarly the king who failed in his duty was worthless, fit to be given up. The relation between the king and the subject is proved to have ended by the very fact of the former's incapacity. The tie of allegiance is deemed dissolved the moment the king failed to fulfil his duty of protection, and the subject was free to employ

<sup>1</sup> राजानं वधने विन्दन् ततो मावीं ततो वनम् । ३१

\* \* \* \* \*

माषितमेव मनुयां डोकी विनायुदायसी ।

राजधनेषु राजेन्द्र तामेवैवमयाः पृष्ट ॥ ३३

वदितान् पुनरपि जज्ञादिति नावनिवार्यते ।

अथवाकारमाकाशमनपीमानवलिङ्गम् ॥ ३४

अरक्षितारं राजानं भावेऽत्र विद्वर्तयिष्ये ।

शान्तकालं च रोषकालं वनकालं च माषितम् ॥ ३५

XII, 57 (=35 Kumbhakamam).

The *Maurya* cited here is the author of a work on politics called evidently *Nijajidharana*. The work which was probably of a school is quoted by Kaṇḍiyya as the *Mānasa*.

another servant-master instead. This was a natural corollary to the theory of taxation and the king's legal position.

§ 339. The canons of taxation settled by constitutional writers agree with the *telos* for which Hindu state was created, namely, 'for prosperity, land-culture, wealth and well-being' (§ 227).

The main-stay of revenue was the king's fixed *bhāga* or the 'share' of produce of agriculture. His 'share' in merchandise sold in the market was 'one-tenth' or so according to circumstances<sup>1</sup>. There were however some other sources of revenue which are at present called excise and customs (*śulka*). In the regulation of these the king had a somewhat free hand. The later law-books attempted even to regulate these by fixed laws. Yet they could not exhaust the list and a greedy or needy sovereign could find some loop-hole. The Nandas are accused to have taxed hides or furs. Evidently these articles had not been taxed before. There was a vast trade in skins or furs between the Magadha Empire and the Himalayan countries as the *Artha-Śāstra* proves.<sup>2</sup> These imports when taxed by the predecessors of Chandragupta gave rise to accusations of greed. Evidently it was with reference to such occasions and opportunities and the realization of the *bhāga* in general that canons of taxation were evolved and settled.

The general principles of Hindu taxation are :

- (1) In taxation the king 'should not by greediness destroy his own foundations as well as those of others.'<sup>3</sup>
- (2) Subjects may be taxed in a way that they may remain strong to bear future burdens and, if necessary, heavier ones. "If the calf is permitted to suck it grows strong, O Bhārata, and can bear (heavy weight) and pain." The king should milch taxes

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Manu*, VII. 130-132; *Gautama*, X. 24-27; *Varahihita*, XIX. 20-27; *Āpastamba*, I. 10, 26, 9; *Viśhṇu*, III. 22-23; *Baudhāyana*, I. 10. 13. 1.

<sup>2</sup> XI. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahā-Bhārata*, XII. 97, 18 :

मीक्षित्वादात्मनीं मूलं धरेत्तं चापि द्रव्यम् ।

keeping the above principle in view. Over-milching is to weaken the calf and consequently harms the milcher himself.<sup>1</sup>

- (3) It is not the heavily-taxed realm which executes great deeds but the moderately taxed one whose ruler not sacrificing the power of defence, manages administration economically.<sup>2</sup> The subjects oppose that king who is extravagant in administration ('eating too much').<sup>3</sup>
- (4) The great principle emphasised is that taxation should be such that it may not be felt by the subject. The ruler should act like a bee which collects honey without causing pain to the plant.<sup>4</sup>
- (5) In raising taxes higher it should be done 'little by little when the realm's prosperity is increasing'. The process must be mild so that the realm might not turn restive.<sup>5</sup>

*On collection of taxes:*

- (6) Taxes should be levied "in proper place", in

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 87. 20-21 :

बलीयन्ते न दीप्यन्ते राष्ट्रमधीनमुद्दिता ।  
धनी धनो आसक्तः वीर्यो मरुति मारुत ॥  
न कर्म कुरते दानो धर्मो दुग्धो दुग्धिर ।  
राष्ट्रमप्यतिदुर्गं हि न कर्म कुरते मरुत ॥

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 41. 23 :

वी राष्ट्रमनुपयति परिरक्षन् सर्वं दया ।  
मन्त्राननुपधीयन् कर्मते सुमहत्फलम् ॥

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 87. 19 :

अतिपणि परिष्कारं राजाभसिषादिनम् ।

"Eating" (*Āhod*) is a technical term for taxation even in the Brāhminya period.

<sup>4</sup> *MSB*, XII c. 88. 4 :

मधुवीर्यं दुग्धेण' ममरा इव पादपम् ।

*Ibid.*, C. 88. 7-8 :

अल्पेनाल्पं दुग्धेन सर्वसामं प्रदाययेत् ।  
ततो धुयन्ततो नृपः आमर्षिं समाचरेत् ॥  
दमयतिर्धं दद्याति अघ्नानं विषयेयम् ।  
मधुपुत्रं जयते न पाशानन्वहयते ॥

proper time" and "in proper form"<sup>1</sup>  
They should never be realised by a painful mode—  
"milk the cow but do not bore the udders."<sup>2</sup>

*On taxing industries:*

(7) 'Taxes should not be levied without determining the outturn and the amount of labour necessary for its production'<sup>3</sup> It has to be borne in mind that without proper incentive no body would engage in industry'. 'What profit (result of production) would keep the producer to the production and produce benefit to the king as well' should be the ruling consideration in deciding upon the amount of taxes to be levied on industries.<sup>4</sup>

(8) In productions of art—materials used, cost incurred, maintenance of the artist required for producing the article, and the condition of the artist have to be taken into account.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, C. 39. 12.

न वास्तानि ना वाक्काणि करीषेभ्यो निपातयेत् ।

चातुर्मुखे च सान्ने न दद्यात्कार्यं दद्याद्विधि ॥

<sup>2</sup> C. 88. 4.

वस्त्रायेष्वी दुर्द्धर्षं कलाय न विकृष्टयेत् ॥

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, C. 82. 10; M. N. Dutt's translation.

कर्म कर्म च संकेत्य ततः सर्वं प्रकल्पयेत् ।

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*: कर्म कर्म च निर्वहेत् न कश्चिद्व्यवहरेत् ॥

<sup>5</sup> *Manu*, VII. 129.

यथा कलेन पुष्पेन राजा कर्ता च कर्मवान् ।

तथा वेला वरी राष्ट्रं कल्पयेत् सततं करान् ॥

यथा राजा च कर्ता च काला कर्मच मासिनौ ।

संकेत्य तु तथा राजा प्रथमाः सततं करान् ॥

<sup>6</sup> *M. B.*, XII. 37.

अथस्ति वाक्कृति च शिल्पं संकेत्य कालकम् ।

शिल्पं प्रति करदत्तं शिल्पिनः प्रति करयेत् ॥

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

*In taxing imports:*

- (9) 'Sale (price realised), purchase (capital employed), distance travelled, cost of importing, and the total cost, also the risks incurred by the merchant should be fully considered'<sup>1</sup>
- (10) "Imports harmful to the state" and "luxuries" ("fruitless") are to be discouraged by taxation.<sup>2</sup>
- (11) Beneficial imports should be made free of import duties<sup>3</sup>
- (12) Those articles which are rare in the country, and those which would be seed for future production should be allowed in, free.<sup>4</sup>
- (13) Certain commodities should not be exported, while their imports are to be encouraged by not being taxed at all. They were, for instance:

- (a) weapons and armours,
- (b) metals,
- (c) military vehicles,
- (d) rare things,
- (e) grains, and
- (f) cattle.<sup>5</sup>

- (14) *Principle of excise or countervailing duty was resorted to in certain cases.*

Foreign favourites and private manufactures in wines and liquors were taxed on the principle

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 12—Mann, VII, 127 :

विद्वयं ज्ञानमन्तर्गतं न च सद्विद्यया  
योगयोगं च समेत्य विविधां श्रावयेत् श्रमात् ॥

<sup>2</sup> *Artha-Sāstra*, II, 21 : (p. 112).

राष्ट्र-वीर्याकारं मातृशुक्राद्यादफलं च यत् ।  
सर्वोपकारशुक्राणां कुशोदीकं तु वर्जयत् ॥

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> जल-धर्म-कवच-लोह-रत्न-सुख-पद्म-पद्म-मन्त्र-विद्या-etc., *Artha-Sāstra*, II, 21 : 39 (p. 111)

of 'compensation' with reference to the state manufactures.<sup>1</sup>

Economic considerations are everywhere prominent. Productive power is not to be hampered; profit and not capital is to be taxed; articles which lead to new industries are to be encouraged; exports which cause "artificial" prosperity by driving up prices are to be discouraged; no special protection is granted to ordinary industries; taxes should be gradual, and with reference to capacity, and not in an obnoxious form.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 25 : (p. 121).

असमस्याः पथं गतं युक्तं दद्युः । सुरक्षामेवकारित-मनुकलावाप्तयेषुना च ।

अत्रापि विक्रयं व्याजं ज्ञात्वा मानविरज्ययीः ।

तदा वैधर्यं कुर्वद्भिर्न आनुवर्तयेत् ॥

Economics in Government and Theory of  
Ownership in Land

**Recommendation**

Monks and Monasteries

"No wanderers other than men who have reached the hermit "stage, no (*sangha*) corporate community—[i.e., the Buddhist "Sangha and the like,] other than that of the Śajātas [village "people], no union formed on mutual compact other than those "of merchants, shall be allowed to establish themselves in the "country. Nor shall there be Halls [religious], rest-houses and "Vihāras" (*Artha-Śāstra*).<sup>2</sup> Men leaving society and becoming monks before they had provided for their family were similarly treated. They were arrested and punished. Only those who had passed the age of manhood were allowed to become monks under the orthodox administration.\*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 17:24.

<sup>1</sup> बटवले-नाम-बाद-११४ औस-जमीन का म कनविष्य आदि: Artha-Sastra, II, I, (p. 48).

<sup>3</sup> शान्तप्रसादः प्रकृतितारः सदाशिवः इत्यादिनाम्ना आदिशक्त्यानुष्ठायो वा नास्ति जनपद-  
हृद्यनिर्देशतः । न च तत्तात्पर्यमिहाराधैः स्वीकार्यम् । 12, 1, p. 48. Compare the Saptin P.  
association extremes. | 232.

\* बुद्धरसातिविषयः अस्य दृष्ट्याहमदमः ; किं न ज्ञानमयः (also those who made wrong ones were furnished with the highest criminal amusement)

अनुवादकः: श्रीमती शर्मिष्ठा । अनुवादः विद्युत् । *LS*, p. 49.

Law 587 also lay down restrictions on leaving one's home.

§ 341. In the art of government the first lesson taught to the ruler was that on economics depend government and freedom of the country.

(a) "कृषि पाशुपाल्ये वणिज्या च वार्ता ।....

तया स्वपक्षं परपक्षं च वशीकरोति कोशदण्डाभ्याम्" ।

AS., p. 3.

Again,

(b) "अर्थानर्थो वार्तायाम् "

(c) "वार्तया धार्यते सर्वम् "

वार्ता वै लोकसंश्रया "

(d) "वार्ता वै लोक संश्रया "

(a) "Agriculture, cattle-culture, and commerce and trade comprise the [Science (*vidyā*) of] Vārtā. Success in that leads through Exchequer and military power to the control of one's own state as well as one's enemies'."

(b) अर्थानर्थो वार्तायाम् (Artha-Sāstra) (II, p. 7). "In Economics lies politics as well as the reverse of politics."

(c) वार्तया धार्यते सर्वम् (Mahā-Bhārata, Vana Parvan I. 50): "By economics the whole [body politic] is held."

(d) वार्ता वै लोकसंश्रया (Kāmandaka, IV. 27): "Vārtā is the shelter of society."

Therefore Rulers had to give their best thoughts to Economics. To maintain an economic government was part of their duty. In fact it came first in the division of their duty; and this position is quite in conformity with the coronation declaration:

"This state to thee (is given) for agriculture, for well-being, for prosperity, for growth' (§ 227).

The word 'pāṇana' which is employed in classical literature to denote the duty of the king combines the two elements: 'seeing to the growth' and 'protection in general.' The second is a corollary from the first which alone is found in the Vedic formula. Hence policy was directed to keep up and develop the *Vārtā* or National Economy.

§ 342. To secure the economic prosperity of the country Policy towards the the mercantile class were treated with particular attention and solicitude.

the mercantile element of population

"The power of production in the merchants should be always encouraged. They make the Realm strong, enhance agriculture, and develop its trade. A wise king should be favourable to them in a studied manner . . . . . There is no greater wealth in a kingdom than its merchants."<sup>1</sup>

Again, "the king should always honour those who have earned wealth. He should give them feasts, drinks, and robes of honour. In every realm the wealthy form an estate (*anga*—limb)"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> अन्नमनुष्ययोगोऽन्नं दत्तं दीयते नारत ।

अनादयन्ति दातुं च न्यवहारं कुर्यात् ॥ ३८

अन्नादीनिषु यत्नं न दीतिं कुर्यादित्यवस्थाः

इत्यादिप्रमाणान् कुर्यात् अन्नमनुष्यद्वयं ॥ ३९

. . . . .

मन्त्रतः सत्तमं किञ्चित्प्रमाणं द्रुमिदित् ।

—Mbh., XII, 87. 39-40.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 88. 29-30.

यमिनः सुखदीपितं याग्यान्नादययोगिनः . . . अन्नमिदमन्नद्वयं यमिनो नाम नारत ।

§ 343 The State at times worked large industries. They were worked by State departments. Both the *State industries* Artha-Śāstra and the Mānava-dharma-Śāstra have departments of *Ākara* and *karmānta*, mining and manufacturies. From them the State gained first-hand industrial experience for its economic administration, and at the same time the income of the State was greatly enhanced. It saved the statesmen, partially at any rate, from the necessity of 'begging' 'affection' tax from the people for war preparations and cognate purposes.

§ 344. Hindu politicians disliked direct taxation. They had practically no *Indirect taxation the key note of the policy* direct tax in their system except the produce-tax. Even the produce-tax in its last analysis was an indirect tax. Import duties which were exclusively 'indirect' in their incidence were the next great tax after the produce tax. Export duties were few and they were more of administrative than revenue levies. Generally those articles which were not encouraged to go out were taxed as exports. The next great source of revenue was the mining industry. The State under Chandragupta and earlier generally nationalized the industry. But in the Mānava Code (VIII 39) mining is open to the public. The tax *Mines* demanded, however, is still heavy. A tax of 50% is laid down, on the principle that mine is like treasure-trove which belongs as much to the State as to the person who finds it. A tax for protection, as in any other case, is deemed but lawful, for the king is the protector of both the upper and sub-soil (*adhi-pati*. 'bhumeradhipatir hi sah,' Manu, VIII. 39). Medhātithi in explaining the law of the Mānava Code says that although no one knows what is there in the land and the government has to do very little guarding there yet as there is a likelihood of the whole land being taken away by a strong enemy,

the king is entitled to his 'share' for this constructive protection.<sup>1</sup>

§ 345. This leads us on to the important Hindu theory on the proprietorship in land, which is connected with taxation. It is not so connected in Hindu politics in the slightest degree but in the controversy of the present day raised by Indianist politicians and scholars. Some of these writers have confidently asserted that property in the soil, according to the Hindu view, always vested in the Hindu sovereign. The fact on the other hand is that this is exactly the reverse of the Hindu theory on the subject. The writers unconsciously have read their own feudal law into Hindu jurisprudence. Nothing is so distant from Hindu law as this theory. Any one who is conversant with the general tendency of the principles of Hindu law in constitutional matters would not believe his eyes even if he be given a Śloka in support of the feudal theory. Numerous instances of gifts and sales of land by private individuals can be given from the earliest literature. Law books give provisions for sale of land and for acquirement of proprietary right (*svāmya*) by prescription. Descriptions<sup>2</sup> proving to the hilt private property in the soil are extant. Above all it is expressly and emphatically declared that the king has no property in the soil and this is declared in no less an authority than the very logic of Hindu law, *Mīmāṃsā*. I give below the discussion from Colebrooke's essay on *Mīmāṃsā*.

"A question of considerable interest, as involving the important one concerning property in the soil in India, is discussed in the sixth lecture.

<sup>1</sup> Butler (*S. B. E.*, XX.V., p. 360, n.) gives a mutilated passage of Medhātithi and makes him say what he does not mean. The real portion is left out. अन्तर्गृह्यन्त्यादिनि वसति स्थितौ विद्वन्मते द्वैविध्यवशात् राजकीयस्वीयपदार्थौ तत्रावि सत इत्यत्राप्यपवादः, अन्त्यान्ते अतीतीष्वन्त्याम् अर्धवर्षं पतदर्थेनैवाह भूमेऽपिपतिरिति वा ।

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* *I. A.*, 1910, p. 199.

"At certain sacrifices such as that which is called Viśwajit, the votary for whose benefit the ceremony is performed is enjoined to bestow all his property on the officiating priests. It is asked whether a paramount sovereign shall give all the land, including pasture ground, highways and the sites of lakes and ponds? an universal monarch the whole earth? and a subordinate prince the entire province over which he rules? To that question the answer is: The monarch has not property in the earth, nor the subordinate prince in the land. By conquest kingly power is obtained, and property in house and field which belonged to the enemy. The maxim of the law, that 'the king is the lord of all excepting sacerdotal wealth,' concerns his authority for correction of the wicked and protection of the good. His kingly power is for government of the realm and extirpation of wrongs; and for that purpose he receives taxes from husbandmen, and levies fines from offenders. But right of property is not thereby vested in him; else he would have property in house and land appertaining to the subjects abiding in his dominions. The earth is not the king's, but is common to all beings enjoying the fruit of their own labour. It belongs, says Jaimini, to all alike; therefore, although a gift of a piece of ground to an individual does take place, the whole land cannot be given by a monarch, nor a province by a subordinate prince, but house and field acquired by purchase and similar means, are liable to gift."

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\* The text referred to by Colebrooke's authority is न दमिः नान् समान् दमयितव्यम् 4.7.3.

The previous discussion is as to what a man legally gives when he gives 'all his' (सं). The literal meaning of this aphorism is 'Land [of a country] is not transferred [by a king], for it equally belongs to all.'

\* *Mit. Essays*, i. pp. 320-321. The comment of Sāhara who is the greatest authority on *Mitashāstra* agrees with the discussion summarised above by Colebrooke. Sāhara on Jaimini, 6. 7. 3, has:—

The very discussion of *Mīmāṃsā* proves, for it presupposes, the existence of private property in land. Such private property was deemed inviolable. All possible pretensions by the Crown to such right was denied in the clearest possible terms. And this was quite in consonance with the spirit of Hindu Law which held even the gods subject to law and prescribed punishment for the sovereign, if he was arbitrary.

§ 346. The Hindu lawyer *Nīlakaṇṭha* carries the discussion further and examines the right of conquest and land of the conqueror in these words :

एवं क्षत्रियादेर्जयादिरिति तु युक्तम् ॥ जयेऽपि जितस्य यत्र गृहचेत-  
द्रथादौ स्वत्वमासीत्तत्रैव जंतुरप्युत्पद्यते ॥ जितस्य करघाहितायां तु जेतुरपि  
सर्वं न स्वत्वम् । अतएव सार्वभौमेन सम्पूर्णां पृथ्वीं माण्डलिकेन च माण्डलं  
न देयमित्युक्तं षष्ठं ॥ सम्पूर्णपृथ्वीमाण्डलस्य तत्तद्व्यामज्जेवादौ स्वत्वं तु  
तत्तद्भौमिकादीनामेव राज्ञां तु करघहणमात्रम् ॥ अतएवेदानीन्तनपारिभाषिक  
चेवदानादौ न भूदानमिति; किन्तुवृत्तिकल्पनमात्रमेव ॥ भौमिकेभ्यः क्रीते तु  
गृहचेतादौ स्वत्वमप्यस्येव ॥

"Similarly conquest and the other (modes) are (available)  
"for a ruler (kshatriya) and the others. On conquest  
"the ownership of the conqueror arises  
"only in respect of the houses, lands, and  
"personalty, etc., of the ruler conquered.  
"Where the latter had a right to taking

अथैव सर्वेयानि संशयः । किं भूमिर्देया न इति । का पुन भूमिः कर्तामिमेता । यदेतन्मदारब्धं  
इत्यानर्धं पश्चिमी-सीतकं च चेदस्माकं इति चेत् । तत्र किं प्राप्तम् । आर्यदेशादेशां समुक्तसम्बन्धेन  
हि तत्र क्षत्र्यादी इत्येते प्रकृते च सार्वभौम व्यापारेण स्वता निर्बन्धयितुम् । इति । एवं शान्तिं नृमः न  
भूमिर्देया इति । कुतः । पंचाशत्तु ईमितादी मनुष्या एवमेव न कृत्यन्त पश्चिमीसीतकस्य इति । आह  
इदानीं सार्वभौमः स तर्हि तदा । कुतः । यावता भौमेन सार्वभौमी भूमेरीष्टे तावता कर्त्तव्यं न  
तत्र कश्चिद्व्यवहारः सार्वभौमस्य जेतव्यः यत् असी पश्चिमी मनुष्याणां क्रीडादीनां रक्षणेन निर्दिष्टस्य  
कालान् सार्वभौम ईष्टं न भूमिः तद्विविधाय च मनुष्याः वैराग्यात् सर्वेयुक्तानाम् आरक्षयितुमर्थादि यत्  
भूमिर्देयं तत्रैव इति न कश्चिद्व्यवहारः । यथा न भूमिर्देया ।

"taxes, the conqueror acquires that much right, and no ownership. Hence 'by an emperor the whole country and by a provincial ruler the province is not a *deya* (a 'subject of gift') is laid down in Book VI (of the P. Mīmāṃsā). Proprietary right in the whole land with regard to villages and lands etc., lies in their respective land-lords etc. The king's right is limited to the collection of tax therefrom. Therefore what is technically called at present 'gift of land' etc. (by the king) does not mean giving away of land, but a mere creation of allowance. If house, land etc., are bought from the owner (by the king) proprietaryship indeed can arise."

§ 347. The Prime Minister Mādhava whose name in legal literature occupies the next place after Viṣṇūśaṣṭa, is entitled to profound respect in what he may have to say on questions of Hindu-law. He discusses the very point in these words:

देवा न वा महाभूमिः स्वत्वाद्वाजा ददातु ताम् ।

पालनस्यैव राज्यत्वाच्च स्वभूदयिते न सा ॥

यदा सार्वभौमो राजा विजिज्ञिदादौ सर्वस्वं ददाति तदा गोपयराजसामं-  
जलाशयाद्यन्विता महाभूमिस्तोन दातव्या । कुतः भूमेस्तदीयधनत्वात् राजा  
सर्वस्वे ऽपि ब्राह्मणवर्जमिति स्मृतेः । इति प्रामे—

ब्रूमः । दुष्टमिच्छादिपरिपालनाभ्यां राज्ञ ईशित्वं स्यूतमिमेतमिति न  
राज्ञो भूमिर्धनम् । किन्तु तस्यां भूमौ स्वकर्तृफलं सुखानानां सर्वेषां प्राणिनां  
साधारणं धनम् । यतोऽसाधारणस्य भूखण्डस्य सत्यपि दाने महाभूमेर्दानं  
नास्ति ॥

"*Maha-bhūmi* (the Great Land, Public Land, cf. below '*non-public*'): is it or not an object of gift? 'King may give it away, for he possesses it.' Land is not his property

<sup>1</sup> Vyavahara-magadha [Dāya-Nirṇaya].

<sup>2</sup> Nyāyamālā by Mādhavācārya (Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series), p. 358.

"because sovereignty is for protection and growth only. Therefore it is not 'given.'"

"Doubt may arise in case a *Sarvabhauma* King (Emperor) "in *Viśvajit* and others 'gives away all he possesses.' In that "case (is) the Great Land which contains public roads, ways for "cattle, vents of water etc. to be given away? For in land "there is his wealth owing to the text of *Smṛiti*—'King may "'wish for (the wealth of) all excepting Brahmins'."

"The reply is that the purport of the *Smṛiti* "is that King's sovereignty is for correcting "the wicked and fostering the good. "Hence land is not king's wealth. On the other hand "in that land (state land) there is the common wealth "of all living beings to enjoy the fruit of their labour. "Therefore although there can be gift of a piece of "non-public (*Aśadhārava*) land there can be no gift of "the Great Land."

§ 318. The commentary *Bhaṭṭadīpikā* which is an  
The *Bhaṭṭa-dīpikā* accepted authority in *Mīmāṃsā* has the  
following exposition on the subject:

सार्वभौमस्यापि न तस्यां स्वत्वम् । जयस्यापि च शत्रुस्वामिकधनगृहक्षेत्रादि-  
विषय एव स्वत्वोत्पादकत्वात् । महापृथिव्यां तु राज्यमातृाधिकारस्यैव जयेन  
सम्पादनात् राज्यं हि स्वविषयपरिपालनकष्टकोटारणरूपं तन्निमित्तकं च तस्य  
कर्षकेभ्यः कषादानं दण्डोभ्यश्च दण्डादानं इत्येतावन्मातृम् । न त्वेतावता तस्यां  
स्वत्वम् । \* \* \* परिक्रयादिसर्वं गृहक्षेत्रादिकं तु देयमेव ॥'

"Even a *Sarvabhauma* sovereign has no proprietary right in  
"it (*Mahā-pṛthivī* = Great Land). For even conquest  
"produces proprietary right only in the  
"personal property, house, fields, etc. of  
"the enemy. In the *Mahāpṛthivī* (Great Land)  
"however, as the right is only of

\* *Bhaṭṭadīpikā* on *Pāramahimānīya Dharma* (Mysore Edition), Vol. II. p. 317.

"government what is acquired by conquest  
"is merely government which is limited  
"to protection and growth of the country  
"and eradication of evil (therefrom) and for  
"that purpose to the realization of taxes  
"from cultivators and of fines from  
"offenders. *In the land there arises no right of any other  
"kind.....* House, fields, etc. acquired by purchase and  
"the like, may however become a subject of gift."

Kātyāyana, the lawyer, deals with the subject in these words:—

"When the king is called the *śrāmin* (master) of the land and in no case of any other wealth, he only becomes entitled to receive the one-sixth share of the produce from it, not [that he is master] in any other way. The master-ship which is connected with him is due to the habitation thereof by living beings and is the one-sixth share arising from their acts whether good or bad."

Mitra-misra commenting on this says:—

"Its meaning is [this]: king is called the *Śrāmin* of land, not of other wealth connected with land. 'Not in any other way' is [laid down] as there is want of master-ship in land. 'Living beings' are those having life; 'habitation thereof' is habitation of the land; *master-ship* that is masterahip of the king. Hence he can only receive one-sixth from their acts"

<sup>1</sup> आश्रयः,

भूमादीं तु भूमीं राजा आश्रयः स्वयं ।

तत्पश्यन् वि वदन्तं वायु याज्ञवल्क्यः ॥ १ ॥

भूमादीं तद्विवाश्रितान् आश्रितं तेषां कोटितम् ।

तद्विवाश्रित्यभूमां यन्मायमपि तद्विवाश्रितम् ॥ २ ॥

अश्रयः । राजा, भूमा, आश्रितः भूमा । अश्रयः, भूमिमायमश्रयः, न भूमा । अश्रयः, भूमिमायमश्रयः । भूमादीं, तद्विवाश्रितान् । तद्विवाश्रितान्, भूमिमायमश्रितान् । आश्रितं, राजा इति शेषः ।  
वदन्तः तद्विवाश्रित्यभूमां वायु याज्ञ । VSM. p. 271

§ 349. This is the traditional view of the law ; this is the view of *Mīmāṃsā* whose verdict in Hindu law is final. This is in complete agreement with the view of the constitutional writers who have decided that the king is a mere servant getting his wages in taxes. The servant cannot claim the very property as his, to guard which he is appointed and for guarding which he gets his salary. This unanimous view of law and constitution on king's position was not confined to books. It was the common and accepted opinion in the country—so common and accepted that it had become current coin even in the domain of folk-lore. The *Jātaka*, which we shall quote verbatim below in the next chapter, says (and there it is the speech of a king), that the king's authority is limited to magisterial duty, that he had nothing more than that, and that he is not the lord of the kingdom. It is further corroborated by the coronation ceremonial which is the very basis of Hindu Kingship and which I have already analysed for the reader. There is not even an atom of suggestion in that chain of formulae and symbolisms to imagine kingly proprietorship in the land of the realm. The idea is altogether foreign to the whole system.

Gupta title-deeds inscribed on copper-plates and registered at the District Officer's office, whose seals they bear, clearly prove private ownership. In certain cases the king got only the  $\frac{1}{4}$ th 'share' as in any other sale (*e.g.*, of moveables).

<sup>1</sup> *I. A.*, 1910, pp. 199-204 (Plates B and C). Plate A is a conveyance by the Municipal Corporation of a piece of land in *Varaṇasī*. The vendors are the president and the assembly (called *Prakṛiti* just as in *Amara*, § 252, p. 70 above). In this case the Emperor received "the legal  $\frac{1}{4}$ th share" (*likha-māśaṅśa bhāga*, plate A., *I. A.*, 1910, p. 195).

§ 350. In the face of all this we have in the repeated editions of popular text books like Mr. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* confidently stated :—

"The native law of India has always recognised agricultural land as being crown property."

"The native law of India" as laid down by its own lawyers of unquestioned and unquestionable authority is the other way. It may be the native law of any other land; it is certainly not the native law of India. It is not fair that a popular text-book should embody such a prejudiced and unwarrantable view dogmatically asserted, and asserted without taking the slightest notice of competent discussions on the subject. Wilks in his *History of Mysore* published as early as 1869 has exhaustively dealt with the subject on materials which were accessible to him<sup>1</sup> and which are accessible to Mr. Vincent Smith. Wilks shows that no foundation exists for attributing the feudal theory to Hindu Law. In the '*Introduction to Hindu Polity*' the constitutional view of Hindu literature was pointed out. Professors Macdonell and Keith who cannot be accused of over-liberal sympathy to matters of Indian history have had to admit in their *Vedic Index*<sup>2</sup> on a survey of all the arguments and materials for the feudal theory that—

"the evidence is however inadequate to prove what is sought; that the Greek observers are contradictory on the point; that the evidence adduced from the Vedic literature, and the *Manu* and *Dharma-Sāstra* and the *Mahā-Bhārata* does not prove the theory; that the evidence so far as it goes of other Aryan peoples does not support the theory of original kingly ownership. Such ownership did not exist so far as can be

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I, Chapter V, pp. 63-128.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. II, pp. 214-15.

"seen in Anglo-Saxon times, nor in Homeric Greece, nor "at Rome." The learned authors, however coolly pass by Jaimini, totally ignoring him, although they go to South Africa to find analogy for Vedic India !

§ 351. While in the second edition (p. 129) no authority was suggested by Mr. Vincent Smith, in the *Artha-Sāstra Commentary's Śloka* last edition (1914, p. 131a) from the translation of the *Artha-Sāstra*, Bk. II, Ch. 24 (p. 144), he has quoted a passage given by the translator "These who are 'well-versed in the Śāstras admit that the king is the owner 'of both land and water, and that the people can exercise 'their right of ownership over all other things excepting these 'two' The passage purports to be the translation of a "couplet of far-reaching political significance" quoted by a commentator of the *Artha-Sāstra*. I have obtained a copy of the manuscript of the commentary which is at the Oriental Government Library, Madras, made under the supervision of the Librarian, through the kind agency of Prof. Krishna Swami Aiyangar. The original couplet reads as follows :—

राजा भूमेः पतिर्हृष्टः शास्त्रज्ञैरुदकस्य च ।

ताभ्यामन्यत् वद्व्यं तत् साम्यं कुटुम्बिनाम् ॥

A mere reading of this śloka will satisfy those who are familiar with Hindu law that the translation is not what the śloka says. The natural, unforced meaning of the śloka is :—  
 "The king is the protector (*pati*), according to the "opinion of the learned in the Śāstras, of the *bhūmi* (land) "and water. Excepting these two whatever property there "may be, his family members have sameness of right therein."

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<sup>1</sup> Manderson and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, pp. 214-15. The authors also say "It is not denied that gradually the king came to be vaguely conceived—as the "English king still is—as lord of all the land in a proprietorial sense." The authority for this statement is ad, except 'as the English king still is' which is the basis, the original sin, of the theory. The relic of the theory still lingers vaguely.

In effect it is the theory of *Mīmāṃsā* and, the law and constitution retold. It is retold in connexion with the rights of the family of a ruler. A kingdom is not partible, because according to the *Śāstras* it is not the property of the king. As the *Śāstrakāras* have said, *bhūmi* 'with seats of water' upon "it belongs to the king, only in as much as he has to protect it and no more." He is only its Protector. Hence of his family members (*kutumbinām*) there is no coparcenary therein. As protector he takes taxes, and as he is the protector of the *bhūmi* 'with seats of water' on it, he is entitled to derive taxes both from land and water. His family members have nothing to do with these taxes or with the sources of these taxes.

To attribute the sense of the translation cited to the *śloka* is little short of sacrilege. And to attribute the sense to the commentator of the *Artha-Śāstra* is to attribute madness to a Hindu writer of Hindu times. Any one in whose veins ran the culture and tradition of "the *Śāstras*" could never mean in sound mind what has been fathered on the author of the *Śloka*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> His name and date are not known.

## CHAPTER XXXV

### Position of the Hindu King

§ 352. To recapitulate the position of the Hindu king,

The king had his civil list defined which was called his 'salary' and which had to be fixed with reference to the income of the State and the position of the Monarch and Country.<sup>1</sup> The whole revenue was not his salary. Salaries of the Queen and junior queens, of Queen-Dowager and Princes and other members of the royal family were also fixed.

§ 353 He had no jurisdiction over individual subjects. King master. He was called master, but it was settled law of no subject which people knew like the daily appearance of the sun that he was master of no subject except a criminal. The *Jātaka* which does not deal in philosophy or ideals but facts and every-day life, puts it in these words in reply to the demand of a beautiful wife who was desirous of absolute mastery over subjects :

"My good lady, to me the inhabitants of the whole realm are no bodines; I am not their master (i.e., they are their own masters). I am master only of those who offend against the ruler's (laws) and do what is unlawful. For this reason, I

<sup>1</sup> *Artha-Samra*, Bk. V, ch. 2, 91 (p. 245).—

दुर्गमवन्द्यतां भवत्यर्हमुदवर्द्धनं कायदेन । कार्यसाधनमर्थेन वा नान्यथाभेन प्रवीर्यमवर्द्धनं । न जमोर्ध्वं पीडयेत् । N. B.—The term *Arhitya* includes the king.

मम,महिमेनमिदमुच्यते तयो राजा । (p. 246).

"am unable to give you mastery and rule over the whole  
"realm." <sup>1</sup>

§ 354. With this defined position, shackled with the  
King constitutionally a servant checks and limitations we have noticed,  
subjugated under the great constitutional  
power of the Paura-Jānapada, with a conscience trained to be  
prone to listen to the public voice, his position really was  
that of the Servant of State, or rather as our forefathers put it  
mercilessly, of a drudging 'slave' (dāsyā). The epic exhibits  
as an ideal that a king should even give up his dear wife if  
asked to do so by his subjects: a popular and somewhat  
crude way of expressing the king's position, but all the same  
echoing the radical demand of Hindu constitution from  
its king to sink his individuality into his office. With  
such principles the king was virtually a constitutional slave.  
Even the Hindu Hobbes, the great monarchist Kaṭilya, would  
not allow the king to have personal likes or dislikes. "A  
"king has no personal likes: it is the  
"likes of the subjects (that should be followed  
"by him)." <sup>2</sup>

This lofty sense of sacrifice made the  
constitutionally slave into the  
Morally master moral master: that 'one man who  
rules over numerous wise and brave men.' He was born, as  
says the Mahā-Bhārata, for the sake of others, 'like the horse  
or the goat' Hindu kingship is the highest

<sup>1</sup> The Jataka, Vol. I, p. 398 :

महं महं सकलजगदिनीं न विधिं योनिं नाहं नेमां समिधो ये एव भूतानि जीवेनाः सवसन्तं  
जरीणि तेनयन्तेनाहं समिधो नि दमिनाः कालेन न मया दृष्टा सकलमहं यजमिदं यथायं दत्तं ति ।

The king had evidently a police jurisdiction of superior nature (Yatān = 'full control')  
"for the sake of contention."

<sup>2</sup> Artha-Sāstra, Bk. I, ch. 12, 16 (p. 39)—

एवायं सर्वं राजः एवायं हिने विद्वन् ।

नाकस्मिं हिने राजः राजानं न द्विष विद्वन् ॥

ideal of sacrifice on the part of the individual whose privilege it was to be the king of the Hindus.

§ 355. His utility was very great. He saw to the transfer of ministers and ministry and was the co-ordinating spirit in government. Propelled by his high sense of sacrifice, high traditions and high position, morally he stood far higher than the ministers and rulers-ministers. If people found the actual governors bad, he still remained the centre of hope and reform and avoided disruption.<sup>1</sup> Ministers came and went, but the king remained. Even when he was powerless, he was (as Kaṁṁilya puts it) the Symbol of State.<sup>2</sup> He was the standard of sovereignty to rally loyalty and hold the realm together. He was, in the words of Śukra, the root of the tree of State:

"King is the root of the Tree of State; the Ministry is its trunk, the military chiefs are branches, the army are the leaves of the tree and the Subjects are its flowers, prosperity of the Country its fruits, and the whole Country the final seed."<sup>3</sup>

But for him the ministry would have tended to become an oligarchy, and the fruits and seeds for future fruits would have fallen in their hands and been misappropriated

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. VIII, ch. 1 : 127 (p. 320) —

मन्त्रिपुरोद्दिगदि मन्त्रमैत्रयुज्यार्थं पुरुषद्वय-पुत्रसिद्धयुक्तप्रतीकारमेवमथ राजैव करोति अथमिदं सामान्यमानवमननः करोति ।

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. V, ch. 5 : 35, (p. 254) —

अज्ञानादीयम्

<sup>3</sup> *Subramitiedra*, V, 12,

राज्यद्वयस्य अर्पतिर्गुणं अज्ञानादीयम् ।

माया दीनादिनाः मीनाः पञ्चमाः कुटुम्बानि च ।

जलाः कलानि मृगमा दीनं मृगः पुत्रसिद्धिः ।

Looking at his utility and at his life of superb sacrifice<sup>1</sup> the Hindu world well put its verdict in the mouth of Bhīṣma, the representative of Hindu royalty in Hindu literature :

सर्वधर्मपरं चातुं लोकायेष्टं मनात्मनः ।

'Of all *dharma*s (duties) rulership is the highest in society, for all times.'

<sup>1</sup> *Mahā-Bhārata, Sītāl-Purāṇa*, ch. LXIII. 29—

आमन्थायः सर्वभूतानुकम्पा  
लोकाङ्गानं पात्रनं लोकाय च ।  
विषयानां लीचनं वीरितानां  
आपो धर्मो विद्यते तस्मिन्नात्मनः ॥

## CHAPTER XXXVI

### Character of the Hindu Monarchy

§ 356. It would be evident from the above discussion of  
State & Trust      Mīmāṃsā, from the theory of taxation, from  
the coronation oath and other points noticed  
above that the State under Monarchy in the eyes  
of the Hindu was a Trust. The object of the trust is  
clearly stated in the Śruti-text which had to be repeated at  
every Coronation: "*This State to Thee (is given)—Thou art the*  
*director, regulator, firm bearer (of this responsibility)—for*  
*(the good of) agriculture, for well being, for prosperity, for growth*  
*(of the people), (that is) for success*"<sup>1</sup>

(The Trust, the State, thus created was for the prosperity  
of the People) It is this underlying principle which has  
been expressed in later literature in so many forms, culmi-  
nating in the fixed maxim that the king is the servant of the  
people getting his wages. If the object of the trust is not  
fulfilled, the trustee is "to be shunned like a leaky ship on  
the Sea."<sup>2</sup>

The *telos* of the Hindu monarchical state brings us to the  
great distinguishing feature of that state. (The end of the  
state was to secure peace and prosperity of the people.

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<sup>1</sup> The White Yajurveda, IX. 22—

"This is thy Kṛantya. Thou art the ruler, thou art controller, thou art firm and  
steadfast.

"Thou for land-culture, thou for peace and quiet, thou for wealth, thou for increase of  
our substance."

—R. T. H. Griffith's translation.

<sup>2</sup> Mahā-Bhārata, Satat P. LVII, 43.

Sacerdotal duties were never imposed upon the king. He was never a priest even in the Vedic age. By prosperity was meant, of course, the immediate material prosperity: the state was instituted for *land-culture, wealth, etc.* That prosperity, which was secured by a correct administration and justice, was regarded to bring about moral prosperity in its train as a corollary.

§ 357. Again, the Hindu Monarchical State was essentially a civil state, A civil State Standing armies appear as early as the 6th century B. C. and probably had existed before it for some centuries. At times very large armies, three quarters of a million strong, were maintained.\* But the State never lapsed into a military polity. The governors of the provinces were civil officers. All the known orders in inscriptions are addressed to civil functionaries. The Commander-in-Chief and all other military chiefs were appointed by the Council of State where the Commander-in-Chief had no place. We do not find the army making and unmaking kings. All the traditions of depositions,—e.g., that of *Nāga-Darśaka*, of *Pālaka* or of the early *Vena*, relate dethronements brought about by the Citizens of the Capital and other constituents of the civil population, not by the army. The king among his several titles—*Narapati* (Protector of the People), *Bhūpati* (Protector of the Country) *Bhaffāraka* (Lord), *Great King* and others—has not got an epithet indicating an official military character, although his personal heroism is often extolled. He as the head of the executive was undoubtedly the head of the army, and in practice he very often led the army and fought, but that was a personal matter. There is no theory which gives him a military halo. He was not the generalissimo of the army of inherent right; that office was quite distinct from that of kingship from Vedic times (§ 211).

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\* E.g., in the time of Chandragupta Maurya.

Likewise, war was to be avoided as far as it was possible, and especially so, for conquest. This was more or less a settled principle of Hindu politics.<sup>1</sup> Militarism as a feature is everywhere absent.

§ 358. On the other hand the most pronounced feature of the Hindu monarchy, as we have seen, was the paramount position of law in the polity. We have also noticed the prominent reference to law in the coronation oath of the Mahā-Bhārata. (The civil character of the Hindu monarchy is reflected in the stress laid on law.

§ 359. Laws of war and conquest were incorporated into the Civil Law as one of its limbs. So much so that the question of conquest was often discussed from the point of view of municipal law, the standard being the standard of the morality of law. If a state was conquered its government was to be re-entrusted into the hands of the old ruling house. This was what the Mānava Dharma-Śāstra<sup>2</sup> laid down after an experience of a nearly all-India, one-king empire, extending 'from sea to sea,' from Madras to the Hindu Kush. It was based on the analogy of the legal theory of 'legitimacy.' It was not a mere theory which was once preached as a pious opinion and then forgotten. It was largely followed from the 4th to the 10th century A. C. In the Allahabad pillar inscription of the great conqueror Samudra Gupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty we find the same principle acted upon. Kālidāsa records the same practice. The earliest Muhammadan writer bears witness to it. "The wars they wage with the neighbouring princes are "not usually undertaken with a view to possess themselves with "the adjoining dominions.....When a prince makes himself "master of some kingdom, he confers the government upon "some person of the royal family," (851 A.C.—*Account of the*

<sup>1</sup> Manu, VII, 199 : Mahā-Bhārata, 69, 23 : "Bṛhaspati has laid down that a wise king should always avoid war for acquisition of territory."

<sup>2</sup> Manu, VII, 202. Other law-Books re-iterate the same principle.

merchant Sulaiman recorded by Abu Zaid, trans. (1718) by the Abbé Renaudot). In the age of Hindu Rationalism which formed the palmiest days of Hindu history, the theory existed in the form noticed by the Greek writers with regard to Hindu attitude to foreign politics. Arrian drawing upon Megasthenes records in his *Indika* (IX):

✓ "Sense of justice, they (Hindus) say, prevented any Indian King from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India."

§ 360. Only such a theory would explain the great fact that although Chandragupta's was "the mightiest throne then existing in the world." (Rhys Davids) and so it remained under his two successors, and that although the Maurya emperors found their next-door neighbour, the Seleucid empire, weak and crumbling, yet no inclination was exhibited to go beyond the Hindu Kush, the natural frontier of the India of those days.

§ 361. To this civil and legal character of Hindu Polity, the sociological historian, I venture to think, Longevity a result of Civil Polity would mainly ascribe the extraordinary longevity of the Hindu State (§ 371), and the absence of a deadly conflict between the People and the Crown.



V  
HINDU IMPERIAL SYSTEMS



## CHAPTER XXXVII

### Imperial Systems

§ 362 The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa places after the republican Adhipatyā and Śarvaśhāma group of states the monarchical group which consists of these varieties :

(1) Monarchy,<sup>1</sup> (2) Great (or High) Monarchy (*Mahā-rājya*); (3) Over-Lordship (*Ādhipatyā*), and (4) Pan-Country Sovereignty<sup>2</sup> (*Sarvabhāuma*).

The High Monarchy is not defined. But the word *mahā*-(mahat) connotes relativity, *eg.*, superiority between States of the same kind. *Mahā-rājya* probably meant a large monarchy, larger than its neighbours, with certain constitutional features at present not known. *Ādhipatyā* in its technical sense evidently signifies an over-lordship embracing protected states; the *Brāhmaṇa* after the mention of the *Adhipatyā* has "May I be (sovereign) enveloping neighbours"<sup>3</sup> *Ādhipatyā* thus seems to mean an imperial system in which suzerainty or 'over-protection' (*Ādhipatyā*) on states outside its frontiers was exercised by the dominant state. Khāravela who had taken the consecration

<sup>1</sup> The *Rājya* is qualified with *parameshthya*, apparently to distinguish it as the *rājya*, the *rājya* superior, i.e. monarchy " सर्वेश राज्यं वैरा मतिना परमता नन्दमम्. It is also possible that *Parameshthya* was some sort of distinct monarchical constitution (cf. राजपितरं परमेश्वरं परमेश्वरम्. Aitareya Br. VIII. 12). I remember having seen a passage in the *Mahā-Bhārata* where some king is styled *Parameshthi*. The rare *Sarvārājya* (VIII. 12) if technical, was probably a reminiscence of the discredited 'autocracy' which the oath in the *Mahā-Bhārata* specifically excludes from Hindu kingship.

<sup>2</sup> VIII. 15—

आश्विन्यं नौत्वं आश्विन्यं वैरा मतिना परमता नन्दमम् नाश्विन्यं नन्दमम् नन्दमम् नन्दमम् नन्दमम्

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, समानं पश्येती मन्

of *Mahārājya*, was described obviously in consequence of his conquests and *rājasūya*, as *Adhīpati* and *Chakravartin*.<sup>1</sup> The wish to be a *Sārvabhauma* is expressed to become “(the sole) monarch of the land up to its (natural) frontiers, up to the sea, over all human beings.”<sup>2</sup> This is a variety of large monarchy which is based on territory as opposed to nationality (e.g., *Jānarājya* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*). It however claims the whole area (*sarva-bhūmi*) within natural boundaries, the country with “natural frontiers.” The “natural frontiers” notion is expressed by Kaṭilya in his *chātūranta* sovereignty (‘an empire up to the four limits’)<sup>3</sup> and he defines it to be the imperial field as lying between Cape Comorin and the Himalayas, i.e., the whole of India.<sup>4</sup> The ideal of one-king empire extending up to the seas probably arose in Magadha from where the field for conquest lay open up to the Bay of Bengal. Its non-Aryan population, unlike the Aryan Janas or nations of the Doab, was no moral barrier to the Hindu imperialist.

We have thus two main systems : one is the Suzerainty or *Ādhīpatya* system and the other is the Pan-Country Monarchy or the *Sārvabhauma*.<sup>5</sup> The latter system was extended and applied even to the Aryan India by the kings of Magadha which shocked the principle of *Jānarājya*. Hindu historians denounced the “one-king,” “one-umbrella” sovereignty of Mahā-Padma established over the ashes of the houses of Vedic antiquity<sup>6</sup> § 363).

<sup>1</sup> *Jayaśwal, J. B. O. R. S.*, III. 434, 459; IV. 376, 396.

<sup>2</sup> *Āitareya Br.*, VIII. 16 —

महर्षीभिः सर्वभूमिं आन्तादपर्यधीन् इति नैऋतमुद्रपर्वनावा पञ्चराट्

<sup>3</sup> *Artha-Sūtra*, III. 1. 58, p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, IX. 1, p. 338.

<sup>5</sup> The *Sārvabhauma* does not relate to the ‘whole Earth’ (See *Māmi* country (§ 351); *Perthi* — country. ‘*dala*,’ according to *Artha-sūtra*, p. 338.

<sup>6</sup> See *Pandya Text* (Pargiter), P. 25. *Jayaśwal, J. B. O. R. S.*, I. 111.

§ 363. At the same time there was the system called the *Sāmrajya*. This was older than the *Sāmrajya* System. *Sāva-bhauma* and also probably the *Ādhipatyā*. This is the favourite of the Vedic literature. It is significant that the *Aitareya* detaches it from the monarchical systems and treats it as distinct. What is still surprising is that the *Brahmaṇa* places it at the head of the list of non-monarchical systems. We can understand the reason if we analyse the system. *Sām-rajya* indicates a "collection of states" under one acknowledged super-state. In modern phraseology it was a Federal Imperial system. The federal character distinguished it from the 'one-king' system. According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* the rulers in the *Prācī* (East) took the consecration of *Sāmrajya*, i.e., the *Prācī* or *Magadha* had become the imperial seat. The *Śukla Yajurveda* knows the system as prevalent in another part of India (West, xv 12) *Prācī* was under the house of *Jarāsandha*, called in history after his ancestor *Bṛihadhratha*. The *Mahā-Bhārata* says that the position of *Samrāj* was acquired by *Jarāsandha*. *Jarāsandha* was the President or *Samrāj* of the Federal Organisation and *Śisupāla*, king of the *Chedis*, was the common generalissimo. In this detail we detect an inter-state basis of originally free nature. In the first book of the *Mahā-Bhārata* we actually find a free election of an emperor by a collection of kings and his consecration to that position.<sup>1</sup> The datum of the *Sabha-Parvan* also implies that the system had been introduced by the rulers for self-protection,<sup>2</sup> but that *Jarāsandha* had abused it and reduced other sovereigns to slavery.

In view of our interpretation we can easily imagine how a small king like *Janaka* of *Videha* had obtained the position of

<sup>1</sup> *Sabha-Parvan*, Ch. XIX.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ādi-Parvan*, Ch. 106, 7.

**Saṃrāj.**<sup>1</sup> Any outstanding personality could be elected leader of the organisation. It seems that owing to the character of the organisation the Aitareya classed it with the popular constitutions.

§ 364. The system which won the day in the post-Bṛihadhratha<sup>2</sup> period was the sārva-bhāumā. The system began to take shape about 700 B.C. when the national states began to give way (§ 247). The old dynasties, come down from Vedic times, began to dwindle. In the next century, large, non-national monarchies greatly developed. There were about three of these. One, but not yet the foremost, had its seat in Māgadhā, another in Kōśalā and the third in Avanti.<sup>3</sup> Competition follows between the three and Magadha finally wins under Nanda-Vardhana.<sup>4</sup> A permanent Sārva-bhāumā is set up about 450 B.C. A century later, the old traditional houses are finally wiped off the tablet of history by the Śūdra Emperor of Magadha (§ 362). Literally a 'one-umbrella' empire covering the whole of Northern India except the Punjab was erected: Hindu historians marked it as the beginning of a New Period.

In 600-450 B.C. people began, as it were, to question "Why should the old dynasties be allowed to live on?" And the two first cases of usurpation were enacted—in Avanti and in Magadha. A political thinker actually formulated a theory of usurpation against degenerate houses.<sup>5</sup> The old

<sup>1</sup> See ante (II.) p. 4, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> C. 700 B.C. Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, IV, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> First under the Vīlāhara and then the Pradyota.

<sup>4</sup> Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, 187, 107.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bhāradvāja, quoted and refuted by Kaṇṇiḥya in *Ārtha-śāstra*, V. 6. 95, pp. 253-4. Kaṇṇiḥya points out the immorality, the fact that the ministers do really rule, and above all the great danger of punishment by the people.

Bhāradvāja was a ruthless writer. Kaṇṇiḥya was his personal name. He preached, according to the *Mahā-Bhārata*, in Western India, to a Saurāṣṭra king. Govinda-rāja, *Rāmāyana A.E.*, 100, 39, calls his a 'crooked policy.'

dynasties seem to have outlived themselves and ceased to perform their function.

§ 365. This type of Hindu Imperialism was also known as "Chakravartin-system." It has reference to 'the arena where the imperial wheel moved unobstructed'. The basic idea again is territory. In the place of the old 'up-to-ocean' limit it substituted a new definition—from Cape Comorin to Kashmir.<sup>1</sup> The Chakravartin ideal had been in the air certainly as early as 570 B.C. and presumably earlier. The Buddha took it from the phraseology of politics and proclaimed the foundation of the Empire of his Religion (Dharma-Chakra). 'Conquest', 'Conquest,' 'nothing but Conquest,' and to create oneness by that Conquest, was the breath of the eastern Hindus in 600-500 B.C. The Buddha claimed to be a Chakravartin-emperor and the Mahāvīra, another great teacher, claimed to be the Conqueror (Jina) of his time. As in the Moghul period the air was surcharged with the idea of founding Badshahis both in religion and in politics, so some two thousand years before people thought nothing but of unifying the continent by conquest in religion and in politics.

The idea of unity was the only element therein which would find approval of the historian. Apart from that element, there was nothing in the system to commend itself to the experience of the country. The system, meant development of a tremendous power, but it was a power attained under intoxication. The after-effect was sinking into exhaustion. It never became an approved system. The law books and political thinkers went back to the ideals of the Federal

<sup>1</sup> Artha-Shastra, p. 328 — श्रेष्ठः पृथिवीः तस्य हिमवत्पुत्राश्चतुर्विन्ध्यौ चोत्तरेण चतुर्विन्ध्यं पृथिवीं पृथिवीं चतुर्विन्ध्यं 'Country is the whole land (i.e., India). In it from the Himalaya up to the Ocean—straight north, 1000 yojanas in measure, is the Chakravartin-arena.'

System and the Adhipatya. They preached that individual states had a right to live.<sup>1</sup>

§ 366. The great feature of the Magadha imperialism was its centralization. Centralization Justice had become royal, even law tended to be royal.<sup>2</sup> The village came under the royal officer. All ships were owned and let by the state. Virtues alone did not come under the focus of the Crown, also vices were brought under the imperial vigilance. Prostitutes were placed under a royal department, gambling was centralised in government buildings or buildings licensed by government, hotels and wine shops were put under an imperial department. Mines were monopolised or, to quote the old phrase, brought under one outlet (ekamukha). Some of these measures were beneficial, others injurious.

Centralisation was against the genius of the race. The Buddha founded his empire, but the machinery of that empire was self-government, and it flourished. On the other hand under the Magadhan machinery, the soul of the country was chained round the imperial standard, and it failed.

§ 367. The system which was tried next was a compromise. The Gupta system tolerated a few sub-states under it, but in reality it was neither a Federalism nor the inferior type, the pure *Ādhipatya*. In essentials it remained a large monarchy. A real federalism with something like equal treatment to other states remained to be revived.

§ 368. For our purposes of constitutional study the second<sup>3</sup> and the third<sup>4</sup> empires are but mere monarchies. The power

<sup>1</sup> Vishnu, III. 47-59 राजा परपुराणानां तु तम कर्तुर्लोकमभिधिषेत् । \* राजकुलमुच्छिष्यात् । See also Manu, VII. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Artha-Śāstra, p. 160. अथैव व्यवहारश्च अस्मिन् राजव्यवसत् ।

<sup>3</sup> Of the Guptas.

<sup>4</sup> That under Harsha, the Maukharis, and others.

of constitutional bodies under them must have varied to some extent according to the periods of peace and war. In periods of war and stress they must have become somewhat weak and in periods of peace they would have grown powerful. The popular forms, at any rate, still lived.



VI  
REVIVAL

”  
LIT.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII

### Revival of Hindu Polity

§ 369. The period after 700 A. C. is a period of darkness and disruption. Popular institutions decayed and Hindu traditions dwindled. The causes, as observed above, are yet to be investigated.

§ 370. But when there was a Hindu revival in the time of Śivāji and the Sikhs, the Sikhs as a polity failed. They failed because they could not connect themselves with the Past. They followed a system which prevailed around them and established a polity of one-man's rule; Guru Govinda wanted to remedy it but the attempt brought about 'no man's rule.' It was the "Padshahi," the Moghul form, in success and in defeat, in rise and in fall. But the movement in the Maratha country had a different history. There they looked into past history and drew up a constitution and founded a polity on materials that were easily available to them but the materials which connected them with the Past. They consulted the Mahā-Bhārata and the Śukranīti and found that king should reign but not rule, that government should be vested in a Ministry of eight ministers. And they founded the *Ashṭapradhāna*.<sup>1</sup> They searched out technical terms from political literature of the country and drew up a *Rājakośa* or Book of State Terms. Yet the system tried was only one portion of Hindu polity, one half of the whole body. They had the *Parishad* but they had not the *Paura-Jānapada*. To their great credit it must however be said

Cause of failure

<sup>1</sup> See ante (II), p. 124, n.

that in modern times they were the first to realise that one man's rule was not allowed by the wisdom and experience of their forefathers, that it was foreign to the genius of their Śāstras. Their limitations were the limitations of darkness and ignorance about the constitutional history of the country, a darkness which we have not yet fully removed three centuries after.

VII  
CONCLUSION



## CHAPTER XXXIX

### Conclusion

§ 371. This is a brief survey, in fact too brief a survey, of a polity which had a free career of at least thirty centuries of history—a career longer than that of all the polities known to history. Babylon might have lived a few centuries longer, but unfortunately Babylon is no more. Against this we have India still existing, and in this respect China—another civil polity—is her only parallel.

§ 372. The test of a polity is its capacity to live and develop, and its contribution to the culture and happiness of humanity. Hindu polity judged by this test will come out very successfully.

§ 373. The constitutional progress made by the Hindu has probably not been equalled, much less surpassed by any polity of antiquity. The great privilege of the Hindu at the same time is that he is not yet a fossil; he is still living with a determination which a great historian (Duncker) has characterised as a tenacity which bends but does not break. The Golden Age of his polity lies not in the Past but in the Future. His modern history begins with the 17th century when Vaishnavism preached the equality of all men, when the Śādra, the helot of the ancient Hindu, preached shoulder to shoulder with the Brahmin (who welcomed and encouraged it), when the God of the Hindu was for the first time worshipped with hymns composed by a Muhammadan<sup>2</sup>, when Rāmādāsa declared that

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<sup>1</sup> Coins have been found which Sir Alexander Cunningham, the most competent critic on Hindu numismatics, has placed about 1000 B.C. The Purghar and Kādavala's inscription (JBORS, III. pp. 436-7) indicate the date of the Mahā-Bhārata to have been c. 1425 B.C. Megasthenes, 310 B.C., found the Hindus counting 151 kings from the earliest times to Chandragupta.

<sup>2</sup> Raza-khan's *Surayya* have been chanted since then at the evening service in Vaishnava temples. Compare with this the view of Ghall who would bury the Hindu at Kāld and cremate the Muhammadan at Benares.

man is free and he cannot be subjected by force<sup>1</sup>, and when the Brahmin accepted the leadership of the Śādra in attempting to found a State.

§ 374. The Reformation of the Hindu has come. But a force which is greater still is also coming. This is the pagan thought, the European man-hood. What a coincidence that the race which evolved the greatest constitutional principles in antiquity should be placed to-day in contact with the greatest constitutional polity of modern times. The contact is electrifying: it can either kill or rejuvenate the Race.<sup>2</sup> Probabilities, however, are, as the historian thought,<sup>3</sup> for the latter, and a Hindu would naturally hope for the latter.

§ 375. Constitutional or social advancement is not a monopoly of any particular race. I am not a believer in the cheap wisdom which preaches that political greatness is inherent in some peoples. It is a superstition which is as baseless as the Spanish superstition of the Blue Blood. There is no such thing as Blue Blood in political and constitutional evolution. Political and constitutional progress is a creation of circumstances and human forces. And even if such Blue Blood be a reality it is certainly present in the veins of the Hindu.

<sup>1</sup> नरदेहं वा साधोनः । सडसा न ह्ये पराधीनः । *Datta-Bodha*, I. 10. 25.

<sup>2</sup> There is much unthinking and unreasonable mortification at times witnessed at the thought of being "conquered." But conquest is only a mode of receiving new thoughts and new life. What great modern community was not conquered? The primitive state of England would have continued much longer but for the advent of the Danes and the Normans. Germany and Italy would have remained a European Rajputana or a Kathiawad but for the French and Austrian domination. India would have become another Siam, Ceylon or Korea but for the Muhammadan invading.

<sup>3</sup> "With this (tensacity) they (the Hindus) have retained a costly possession, that "inclination towards the highest intellectual attainments which runs through their whole "history. This treasure is still vigorous in the loins of the best Indians, and appears "the more certainly to promise a brighter future."—Dooncker, *History of Antiquity*, (1852-57) IV. ch. 10.

APPENDIX TO PART II



## APPENDIX D.

### Additional Notes on Part II (1924).

P. 71.—*Sreshthim* or President of the Town.

Divisional capitals or seats of Governments (*adishthāna*s) had their *Sreshthina* under the Guptas. EI. XV, 130 gives the *Nagara-sreshthim* of *Kosi* in the Province of Bengal under Kumara Gupta. He is given the honorific *Ārya* before his name (p. 142), and is associated with the District Officer in the administration of the district.

Cf. also Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 96-97, for *Jeṭṭhakkā*, *pamukkhā* taken as Aldermen or Presidents, and *Mahāḍ-Ḥeṭṭhi* as the Chief Alderman over the Aldermen of the guilds.

P. 124.—*Pratinidhi* : whether a Representative of the People?—

Pp. 130—131.—Council of State and Representative of the People—

District administration in Gupta times and Local Representatives—

A sidelight is thrown by the Gupta system of District administration. The Damodarpur copper plates, discovered in the district of Dinajpur, Bengal (EI, XV, pp. 113—145), prove that the District Officer [*Viśaya-pati* or *Viśaya-dyuktaka*, appointed by the Governor (*uparika*) of the Province of Bengal (*Paṇḍitavardhana bhukti*), the latter holding his appointment from the Emperor direct] made settlements of land in conjunction with (*saṁhaga-carakati*) the President of the town (*Nagara-sreshthim*), the President of the merchants, the senior (*Prathama*) *Kulika* (town judge), the Senior city Registrar (*Prathama Kṛyastha*). We thus find the local representatives associating with the Government District Officer in an administrative act of the District.

“The governmental authority of the district” (*adishthānādshikarava*) is expressly mentioned as vested in the government official along with the popular officials of the city corporation—e.g., *Niyuktaka-humādāndga*. *Vetravarmaji adishthānādshikaravaṁ cha Nāgara-sreshthi* (etc).—*purge samagavaharati* (p. 133).

Similarly in the Government of the State it is very probable that the process was repeated.

Pp. 104—105.—*Mahattarah*.

See IA, X, 213 and EL, XV, p. 136 on *Mahattaras*. In the Damodar-pur plate (EL, XV, 36) the *Mahattara* and other *Ashta-kula-adhikarayas* deal with settlement of land and report to the Governor. Cp. this with *ibid.*, p. 133, where the same function is performed by the President (*Sreshthia*), Kulika, Registrar, *etc.*, along with the Government District Officer. The *Mahattara* is there reporting from some interior town.

INDEX  
ABBREVIATIONS  
ERRATA



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Vyāsa (lawyer)	.... 67	<i>abhisheka</i> of, §1; 101, 112, 124,	
		.... 125, 126, 133	
<b>W</b>		<b>Z</b>	
War, and Peace,	127, 129, 145,	Zens	.... 111
Wickramasinghe	.... 151	Zeylanica, Epigraphia	.... 151
Wilks	.... 181		



## ABBREVIATIONS

Account of the Merchant Sulaiman Recorded by Abu Zaid.	Translated by Abbé Renaudot.
A., Artha-Śāstra A.Ś, AŚ, Kaṭṭiliya,	The Artha-Śāstra of Kaṭṭiliya, ed. by R. Shama Sastry, 1909, Mysore, Govt. Oriental Library Series, Bib. Sanskrita no. 37. Its translation by Dr. Shama Sastry, Bangalore, 1915, Same series, no. 37, Part II.
Abhidhāna-Rājendra	Jaina Prakrita Kosha Ed. Rutlam, 1919.
Adhyaksha-prachāra, notes on	Notes on that section of AŚ. by Dr. I. J. S. Tamporewala
Aggañña S. Aggañña Suttanta,	See Dīgha Nikāya.
Agni-Purāṇa ...	Bengal Recension.
Ait. Br., Aitareya., Aitareya Br. Aitareya- Brāhmaṇa,	Ānandaśrama ed.
Alberuni ...	Author of Alberuni's India.
Alberuni's India ...	By Alberuni : Trans. by Sachau in two volumes, (Eng. Trans.) Trübner, 1888

- Altindisches Leben... By Zimmer, Berlin, 1879.
- Amarakosha By Amarasimha, Ed. in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series Nos. XXXVIII, XLIII, LI, LII, by T. Ganapati Sāstri with the commentary Tikāsarvasva of Vandyaghaṭṭya Sarvānanda.
- Amara-simha Author of the Amarakosha.
- Ambaṭṭha Sutta See D. N.; translation of, in Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. I.
- Ambaṭṭha Suttanta... See D. N. Translation in Dialogues of the Buddha Pt. I.
- Anabasis By Arrian.  
G. P. Gapa-Pāṭha of Pāṇini.
- Ancient India By Mc Crindle.  
as described by  
Classical Writers,  
or,  
Ancient India  
as described in  
Classical  
Literature
- Anguttara Nikāya ... Ed. by the Pāli Text Society.
- Anuś. P. See M. Bh.  
Anuśāsana  
Parvan,
- Aprārka ... Commentator on Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti.  
Ed. by Hari Nārāyaṇa Apte, 1903.
- A. S. R. By Cunningham.  
Archæological  
Survey Report

Arrian	...	Author of <i>Anabasis</i> and <i>Indika</i> . See <i>Magaethenos</i> and <i>IIA</i> .
Asabhāya	...	Commentator of <i>Nārada Smṛiti</i> .
Āśvaghoṣa	...	Author of <i>Vajrasūchi</i> Ed. by Weber in <i>Indische Studien</i> .
A. V.		Ed. by Whitney
Atharva veda		
Aṭṭhakathā	...	Commentary on the <i>Tripitaka</i> , by <i>Buddhaghosa</i> ; extracts from, translated, in <i>J. A. S. B.</i> VII (1838.)
Avadāna-Śataka	...	Ed. by Speyer, in two volumes Petrograd, 1902.
Ayodhyā K.		<i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> .
Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa		
Āchārāṅga Sutta- or Āyāraṅga Sutta	(a)	Ed. by Jacobi, 1882. (b) Ed. Asiatic Society of Bengal, when not otherwise specified.
Āpastambīya Dharma-Sūtra, Āpastamba Dh. S.		Ed. Georg Bühler, Bombay Sanskrit Series -no. XLIV. (with Haradatta's commentary).
Āśvalāyana Gṛhya- Sūtra	Ed.	Ānandāśrama Series, Poona.
Āryadeva	...	Author of <i>Chatuś-śatikā</i> ; fragments of, in <i>J. A. S. B.</i> 1911.
Bāla. Bāla Kāṇḍa,...		See <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> .
Bālama-Bhaṭṭi	...	'Commentary on <i>Mitākhaṇḍā</i> ,' Chow- khambhā Series.
Bāṇa	...	Author of <i>Harsha-charita</i> .

Bandhāyana Dh. S.	Ānandāśrama Ed. in the Smṛiti- Samuchchaya.
Baudhāyana Dharma- Sūtra	
Bhāṭṭadīpikā ...	Commentary on the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā Darśana by Khaṇḍadeva. Ed. by Mahādeva Sastri and L. Srinivāsa- chārya, Mysore, 1911.
Bhāgavata. Bhāgavata Purāṇa	Bengal Recension.
Bhaṭṭojī Dīkshita ...	Author of Siddhānta Kaumudī.
Bloomfield ...	Translator of the hymns of A. V. in S. B. E. Vol. XLII.
Bṛ. Ar. Up. Bṛihadāranya- kopenishad	Nirṇaya-Sāgara Edition.
Bṛihaspati ...	Translated by Jolly in S. B. E. vol. XXXIII.
Bṛihaspati Sūtra ...	Ed. by Dr. F. W. Thomas (Le Muséon) pp. 131—166)
Bṛ S.;—Bṛihat Samhitā	By Varāhamihira, ed. by Kern, Asiatic Society.
Buddhische Kunst in Indien	By Grünwedel ;
Buddha ...	By Oldenberg.
B. I.-Buddhist India	By Rhys Davids.
C C I M. Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum	By Vincent A. Smith.

Chandేశvara	...	Author of R N R. and V R.
Chāpakya	...	Same as the author of AŚ. ('the son of Chapaka).
Chatuś-śatikā	...	By Āryadeva, Ed. Haraprasāda Shāstri (ASB)
Chullavagga	...	Vinaya Texts, Vol. II. Translation of, by Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, in SBE. Vols. XVII and XX.
Childers	...	Author of the Pāli-English Dictionary
C A I. Coins of Ancient India		By Cunningham, London, 1891.
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum III, C. I. I. III.		By Fleet for the Corpus Inscriptionum.
Cunningham	...	Author of C A I. and A. S. R. Report of the Archeological Survey of Western India, Indian Eras.
Curtius	...	See I. I. A., Megasthenes.
Chh. Up., Chhāndogya Up. Chhāndogya- Upanishad		Nirpaya-Sāgara Edition.
Dandīn	...	Author of the Daśakumāra Charita.
Daśakumāracharita		By Dandīn; Ed. with various readings by Nārāyaṇa Bāl Krishna Godbole, (eighth Ed.) Bombay, 1917
Das Rāmāyana	...	By Dr. H. Jacobi.

Dāsabodha	... By Rāmadāsa ; Poona Ed.
Dialogues of the Buddha	By Rhys Davids, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Series, 2 Parts.
D N. :— Digha-Nikāya	Ed. by the Pāli Text Society, (in three volumes).
Diodorus	... See I. L. A., Megasthenes
Divyāvadāna	... Ed. by Cowell and Neil, Cambridge.
Early History of India	By Vincent A. Smith
Enc. Britt Encyclopedia Brittanica	Eleventh Ed.
Ep. Ind., EI, Epigraphia Indica,	Epigraphia Indica.
Epigraphia Zeylanica	Ed. by Wickramasinghe (Archeological Survey, Ceylon).
Epitome of Megasthenes,	By Diodorus. See Megasthenes.
Fleet	... Author of Gupta Inscriptions.
Gautama.	Author of Gautama Dh. Ś.
Gautama Dh. Ś.	Ed. by Stenzler.
Gautama Dhārma- Śāstra	
Geschichte des Tāranātha.	Trans. by Scheifuer.
Grierson	Author of Linguistic Survey of India.
Goptha Brāhmaṇa...	Ed. Bibliotheca Indica.

Govinda Das	...	On the Rājput practice.
G. P.		Edited by Fleet.
Gupta Inscriptions,		
Govindrāja	...	Commentator on Rāmāyana.
G. R. M.		By Vardhamāna; Ed. by Bhīmasena,
Gaṇa-Ratna-		Allahabad, 1898.
Mahodadhi		
Grūluedel	...	Author of <i>Buddhische Kunst in Indien</i> , translated into English by Burgess.
Harsha-charita	...	By Bāṇa.
Haradatta	...	Commentator of Āpastamba Dh. S.
Herodotus	...	By Rawlinson.
History of Antiquity.		In four volumes by Prof. Max Duncker; translation of, by Abbot.
History of Mysore	...	By Wilks; 2nd. Ed. 1869.
HILL. History of...		By Weber; translated by Zacharæ.
Indian Literature		(Trübner)
History of Sankṛit		By Macdonell, 1899.
Literature,		
Sanskṛit		
Literature.		
Ind. Ant., I. A.		
Indian Antiquary.		
I C. —Indian		By Prof. Rapson.
Coins		
Indika	...	By Arrian.

- Indische Alterthums- By Lassen.  
kunde, Ind. Alt.
- Indo-Aryans ... By Rājendra Lal Mitra.
- Indo-Aryan Races ... Ramāprasād Chanda.
- J.—Jātakas ... Ed. by Faabjoll, Kopenhagen, in  
six volumes.
- Journal Asiatique ... ..
- J. A. S. B. Journal (Calcutta).  
of the Asiatic  
Society of Bengal,
- J.B.O.R.S., Patna, 1915 to 1924.  
JBORS. J. BORS.  
Journal of the Bihar  
and Orissa Research  
Society
- J. R. A. S. London.  
Journal of the  
Royal Asiatic  
Society
- Jaimini ... Author of the Nīmāṃsā Darśanam.
- Jolly, J. ... (a) Ed. A Ś. Punjab Sanskrit Series,  
no. 4, Vol 1. Lahore, 1923.  
(b) Ed. Nārada-Smṛiti. (Bib. Ind.)  
(c) Translation of (b) in  
SB E. Vol VII.
- K. Kauṭilya, author of the AŚ., full name—  
Kauṭilya Viśnugupta Kauṭilya.  
See AŚ.

# ABBREVIATIONS

Kalpa Sūtra	...	See Translation of, by Jacobi, in SBE, Vol. XIII.
K. P.		See M. Bh.
Kaṇva Parva		
Kaṭha Upanishad	...	Bom. Ed.
Kālidāsa	...	Author of Raghuvamśa, Śakuntalā and Mālavikāgnimitra.
Kāmandaka	...	Author of KNS.
Kāmandakiya, Kāmandakiya Niti- sāra, K N S.		The Nitisāra of Kāmandaka with the commentary Jayamūgala of Śaṅkarācārya, ed. by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Trivandrum, 1912 ; Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, no. XIV.
Kāma-Sūtra.	...	By Vātsyāyana Ed. (a) Nirṇayasāgara
Kāma S., K S.		(b) Chaukhāmbā Sanskrit Series, Benares.
Kāśikā	...	By Paṇḍita Vāmana and Jayāditya, Ed. by Bāla Śāstrī, Benares, 1898
Kātyāyana	...	Quoted by Chapḍeśvara, Mītra-Mīśra and Nīlakaṇṭha.
Kātyāyana		Author of the Vārttikas.
Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana		Quoted in Mitrakeśarā.
Kṛishṇa Yajurveda	...	Mysore edition.
Kāthaka Samhitā	...	Kāthaka Recension of TS.
Kullāka	...	Author of a commentary on Mānava-dharma Śāstra

L. V. Lalita vistara ...	Bib. Ind. Asiatic Society Ed.
Lassen ...	Author of Indische Alterthumskunde.
Lévi ...	Author of Le Nepal—in two volumes.
Life of Appollonius	By Philostratus.
Life of the Buddha...	By Rockhill (Trübner).
L S I.	By Grierson.
Linguistic Survey of India,	
M. and K.	Authors of the Vedic Index.
Macdonell and Keith	
Mahā-Bhārata —M. Bh.	Bengal Recension (when not specified otherwise), Kumbakonam (when so specified) Edited by T. R. Vyāsāchārya, 1908.
M. G.	See D. N. Vol. II.
Mahā-Govinda Sutta	
Macdonell ...	Author of the History of the Sanskrit Literature and the joint author of V. I.
M. P. S.	See D. N. Translation in SBE Vol. XI.
Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta	and Dialogues of the Buddha, pt II.
Mahāvagga ...	Ed. by Oldenberg ; Translation of, by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in S. B. E. Vols. XIII and XVII.
Mahā-Bhāṣya. Kielhorn.	By Patañjali, Ed. by Kielhorn.

# ABBREVIATIONS

M N	Ed. by the Pāli Text Society.
Majjhima Nikāya,	
M V, Mahāvastu ...	Ed. by Séart in three volumes.
Mādhuva	Author of Nyāyamālā.
Mārkandēya P.	Bengal Edition.
Mārkandēya Purāṇa	
M. Manu	Ed. by (a) J. Jolly (b) Ed. by
Dh Ś ; Mānava ;	Māṇḍalik.
Mānava, Dharma-	
Śāstra,	
Mahāvamśa ...	Ed. by Geiger.
Mālavikāgnimitra...	By Kālidāsa.
Maitrāyaṇī, M S.	Ed. by Schröder.
Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā,	
Mc Crindle	Author of I I A., Ptolemy, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature and Megasthenes.
Mitākshurā ...	By Vijñāneśvara
Megasthenes	Mc Crindle.
Ancient India as described by Megasthenes	
Milinda-Pāṭho ...	Translated by Rhys Davids in SBE. Vols XXXV and XXXVI.
Mitra-Miśra ...	Author of the Commentary Vīrami- trodaya, on Yājñavalkyasmṛiti (unpublished) a manuscript of in the possession of Mr. Govindadāsa of Benares, author of V M R S, V M.

Mimāṃsā Darśanam, P Mimāṃsā	By Jaimini. with the Commentary of Sabarasvāmī, (Bib. Ind.)
Mṛicchhakaṭika	By Śūdraka; Ed. by Kāśicātha Pāṇḍ- urang Parab, with the commentary of Prithvidhara, Bombay, 1900.
Modern Review	... Monthly, Calcutta
Monier-Williams	... Author of the 'Sanskrit English Dictionary.'
Moribus et Populis Germaniae.	By Tacitus
Mudrā-Rākshasa	... by Viśākha-datta, Ed. by K. T. Telang, Bombay.
Nāgeśa	Author of the Pradīpodyota on Mahā-Bhāṣhya By Nāgeśa (Asiatic Society) Calcutta.
Nārada	... Translated by Jolly in S. B. E. vol. XXXI. II Quotations in Digest
Nāmalīṅgānusāśana	... Amarakosha.
Nārada-Smṛiti (text.)	Ed. by Jolly with passages from the commentary of Asabhāya (Asiatic Society) Calcutta.
Nepal	... By Lóvi
Nirukta	... By Yāska.

# ABBREVIATIONS

Nilakaṇṭha	...	Author of the Vyavahāra-Mayūkha Ed. by Mandlik with English Translation, 1880.
Nīlīvākyāṃṛita	...	By Somadeva (a) Ed. by Gopālanārāyaṇapājanata, Bombay. (b) Ed. by Nāthurāma Premī, Bombay, 1923.
Nyāyamālā	...	By Mādhavāchārya. Ed. Anandāsrama Series.
Oldenberg	...	Author of Buddha. Translated into English by William Hoey.
Oldenberg	...	Editor of Vin.
Pañoha Tantra	...	Calcutta Ed.
Patañjali	...	Author of the Mahā-Bhāṣya.
Pargiter	...	Author of the Purāṇa Text, and articles in JRAS.
P. E. Dictionary, Pāli-English Dictionary		Childers.
Pāṇini	...	Author of Sanskrit Grammar.
Pāraskara Gṛhiya- Sūtra.		Hathwa ed. with the commentaries of Karṇa, Jayarāma, etc. Lazarus, Benares.
Pradīpaddya	...	See Nāgeśa.
Philostratus	...	Author of Life of Appollonius.

- Proc. A. S. B .....  
 Procedure of Asiatic  
 Society of Bengal,
- Praśna-Vyākaraṇa- Quoted by Shamasastri in A Ś.  
 Sūtra-Vyākhyāna. p. 46 F. N.
- Pratāp Chandra Ray Translator of M. Bh.
- Priyadarśi- By Rāmāvatāra Śarmā, Patna, 1915  
 Praśas'asyah
- P. T.—Purāṇa Texts By Pargiter, Oxford, 1913.  
 of the Dynasties  
 of the Kālī Age.  
 or  
 Purāṇa Texts  
 or  
 Pargiter's Texts,
- Raghu-Vamśa ... By Kālidāsa
- Ranade ... Author of Rise of the Maratha Power.
- R. N. R. N. R. By Chandraśvara, Ed. by K. P.  
 Ratnākara Jayaswal, Bihar and Orissa  
 Rāja-Nīti Ratnā- Research Society, 1924.  
 kara,
- Rapson ... Author of I. O. Ed. Grundriss Sans.
- Rāja-Nīti- By Nilakaṇṭha, Kāśī-Saṅgṛahita-  
 Mayūkha Yātrālaya, 1880.
- R. Mitra, Author of Indo-Aryans.  
 Rajendra Lalā  
 Mitra,

Rāma	...	Commentator on Rāmāyana.
Rāmāyana	...	The Rāmāyana of Vālmiki with the commentary (Tilaka) of Rāma, ed. (a) by Kāśināth Pāṇḍurang Parab Bombay ; 1888. (b) by Messrs Krishnaāchārya and Vyāsaāchārya.
Rāmadāsa	...	Author of Dāsabodha.
Report of the Archaeological Survey of India,	...	Cunningham and others
Rhya Davids	...	Author of B. I. and Dialogues of the Buddha
Rise of the Maratha Power.	By	Ranade
Rock Series and Pro- clamations.	See	Ep. Ind. Vol. II.
Rockhill	...	Author of the Life of Buddha.
Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha.	By	Beal (Trubner.)
Roth	...	Joint Author of St. Petersburg Dictionary.
R. V. :—Rig-veda	...	Ed. by Max Müller (with the commentary of Sāyana).
Śakuntalā	...	By Kālidāsa.
Śaṅkarārya	...	The commentator on KNS.

- Śut. Br., Asiatic Society ed., the Translation of  
 Śatapatha, in S B E Series,  
 Śatapatha Br.  
 Śatapatha  
 Brāhmaṇa,
- Śabara ... Commentator on Jaimini. See  
 Mīmāṃsā Darśanam.
- Ś., Śānti. See M. Bh.  
 Śānti P.,  
 Ś P.,  
 Śāntiparvan
- S N S. Ed. by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara  
 Sukra-Niti-Sūtra, Bhaṭṭācāryya, 1890
- Strabo ... See Ancient India as described in  
 Classical Literature, Megasthenes.
- Sabbāparvan, See M. Bh.  
 S P.
- Sāmaññaphala See Dīgha Nikāya Vol 1.  
 Sutta
- S B E. Ed. Max Müller, Clarendon Press,  
 Sacred Books of Oxford,  
 the East
- Saint Petersburg By Roth and Böhlingk.  
 Dictionary, St.  
 Petersburg  
 Dictionary.
- Sanskrit Grammar of Aśṭādhyāyī By Pāṇini,  
 Pāṇini, Pāṇini, P.
- Siddhānta Kaumudī By Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita.

# ABBREVIATIONS

Tacitus	...	Author of <i>Moribus et Populis Germaniae</i>
Tagore Lectures	...	By K. P. Jayaswal
Taitt. Br., T. Brāhmaṇa, Taittirīya Br. Taittirīya- Brāhmaṇa,		Mysore ed. with the Commentary of Bhaṭṭa bhāskara
T. S. Taittirīya Saṃhita		Mysore ed. with the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra.
Ud. P. Udyōga Parvan		See M. Bh.
Vajrasūcī	...	By Aśvaghoṣa.
Vāmadeva	...	Quoted in M. Bh.
V. Mihira. Varāhamihira,		Author of Br. S.
Vardhamāna	...	Author of <i>Gaṇa-Ratna-Mahodadhī</i> ; Ed. by Bhīmaseṇa, Allahabad, 1898
Vasīṣṭh Dh. Ś, Dharm-Śāstra.		Ed. by Fiehrer.
Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā...		Ed. Bombay.
Vārttikas	...	On Pāṇini, by Kātyāyana.
V. :—Vātsyāyana	...	Author of <i>Kāma S.</i>
Vāyu P. Vāyu Purāṇa, P.T.		Bengal Recension : See Fargiter's Text.

V. I.	By Arthur Anthony Macdonell and Arthur Berriedale Keith, London, 1912.
Vedic Index	
Vijñāneśvara	... Author of Mitāksharā, Bombay Ed.
Vinaya, Vin.	Ed. by Oldenberg.
Vinaya Texts	
V. Smith,	Author of C. E. I. M. and Early History
Vincent A. Smith.	of India.
Vishṇu Purāṇa,	Bengal Edition.
Vishṇu P.	
Vishṇu Purāṇa	... Translation of, by Wilson and Hall.
V. M	By Mitra Miśra, Ed. by Jivānanda
Vira-Mitrodāya,	Vidyāsāgara Bhaṭṭachāryya, 1875.
VMRN,	By Mitra Miśra ; Ed. Chaukhambā
Vira-Mitrodāya,	Sanskrit Series, 1916.
Vyavahāra-	By Nīlakaṇṭha Ed. by Mandali
Mayākhya	
Vyāsa	... Quoted by Aparārka.
Walsh	... On Kongdu administration in I A
	1906.
Weber	... Author of H. I. L.
White Yajur-Veda,	Mādhyandina Śākhā, Nirṇaya-Sāgara ed,
W. Yajur Veda	
White yajurveda,	

- Yājñavalkya. (a) See Aparārka. (b) Ed. by Mandalik  
 Yājñavalkya together with English translation  
 Smṛiti, (c) Ed. by Wāsudev Laxman  
 Shāstri Pansīkar with the com-  
 mentary *Mitāksharā* of Vijñāneśvara  
 (2nd). Bombay 1918.
- Yāska ... Author of Nirukta.
- Yuddha K, See Rāmāyana.  
 Yuddha,  
 Yuddha Kāṇḍa,
- Zimmer ... Author of *Altindisches Leben*.



# N R R I T A

## PART I

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19	3	"Criminal"	"Criminal"
20	31	II	17
25	13	Similarly	similarly
26	21	further	further
27	34	p. 307	p. 307
30	2	people	pepeople
31	29	<i>Mayāka</i>	<i>Mayāka</i>
32	28	IV. 2. 47	IV. 247
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35	26	कस्मि <sup>०</sup>	कस्म <sup>०</sup>
40	33	Hoernke	Hoertne
41	24	वचन	वचन
—	29	Kāśikā	Kāśika
59	12	eleventh century	eleven centuries
62	32	काम्बोजी <sup>०</sup>	काम्बोजी <sup>०</sup>
71	35	रम्भः	रम्भः
83	12	theirs	their
95	13	§ 98, According	According
104	18	§ 101 (a)	§ 101
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115	28	humorous	humorous
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146	1	§ 135 (a)	§ 135
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197	12	सामादृष्ट	सामादृष्ट°
—	13	ब्राह्मण	ब्राह्मण
199	13	Brāhma-gupta	Brāhma guptā
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203	3	Artha Śāstra	Arthaśāstra
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209	13	There	Their
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214	24	Pāta°	Pāta°
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216	12	°Padeśa	°Padeśa
—	25	Spon°	°Spen

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57	34	°धृते	°धृते
60	21	26-35	16-26
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